

Foreign
Broadcast
Information
Service



ANNIVERSARY
1941 - 1991

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-038
Tuesday
26 February 1991

FBIS 50th Anniversary Note

To Our Consumers:

This year the Foreign Broadcast Information Service observes its 50th anniversary.

The service, first called the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service, was established in 1941 prior to the U.S. entry into World War II. At the time, a number of U.S. Government officials were concerned about the content of foreign radio broadcasts—a relatively new means of conveying information and propaganda across borders. On their advice, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in late February 1941 allotted money from his emergency fund to institute the recording, translating, transcribing, and analyzing of selected foreign broadcasts for the U.S. Government. During World War II the service demonstrated that monitoring was a fast, economical, and reliable way to follow overseas developments.

Today the Foreign Broadcast Information Service provides its consumers throughout the federal government, according to their diverse official interests, with information from a broad range of foreign public media. FBIS information also is available to readers outside of the government, through the National Technical Information Service. Objectivity, accuracy, and timeliness are our production watchwords.

We members of the current staff of FBIS extend our thanks to consumers for their interest in FBIS products. To past staffers we extend our thanks for helping the service reach this anniversary year. At the same time, we pledge our continued commitment to providing a useful information service.



R. W. Manners
Director
Foreign Broadcast Information Service

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-038

CONTENTS

26 February 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Reports of Unrest in Tirana Continue	1
AFP Says 100 Arrested, 12 Killed	1
PDSH Spokesman Comments [Vienna Radio]	1
Press on Hoxha Statue Incident [ZERI 1 POPULLIT 24 Feb, etc.]	2
Camera Association Appeals For 'Brotherhood' [Tirana Radio]	2
Independent Trade Unions Appeal to Workers [Tirana Radio]	2
Human Rights Forum Appeals Against 'Tragedy' [Tirana Radio]	3
Human Rights Forum Visits Tirana Prisons [BASHKIMI 21 Feb]	3
Police Rebut Human Rights Forum's Accusations [Tirana International]	4
International Radio Director on 'Free Press' [ZERI 1 RINISE 16 Feb]	4
Priest Interviewed on Status of Church [Hamburg DIE WELT 22 Feb]	5
Presidential Council Member Mejdani Interviewed [Tirana Radio]	7
Trade Unions Disown 'Independent Trade Unions' [Tirana Radio]	7
Kosovar Delegation Continues Visit	7
Received by PRSh's Godo [ATA]	7
Delegation Departs [Tirana Radio]	7

BULGARIA

Foreign Minister Vulkov States Policy Objectives [DUMA 20 Feb]	8
Vulkov on Warsaw Pact Military Disbandment [BTA]	10
Zhivkov, Balev Hear Indictment as Trial Opens [BTA]	10
Zhivkov Denies Guilt [BTA]	11
Zhivkov Accuses Lukanov [BTA]	11
Prosecution Continues Trial [BTA]	11
Defense Lawyer Comments [BTA]	12
SDS Hopes Trial Will Unveil New Evidence [BTA]	12
Kurdzhali Ethnic Tension Described [BTA]	12
Christian Democratic Leader on Movement's Goals [NARODNA ARMIYA 19 Feb]	13
Council Finalizes Bill on Foreign Investments [BTA]	14
Finance Minister Says Debt Postponement Sought [BTA]	14
Soviet Work Deal Ends; Workers Occupy Embassy [BTA]	14
Countrywide Market Situation Reported [BTA]	15
Lack of Radiation Protection System Alleged [NARODNA ARMIYA 19 Feb]	15

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dlouhy on 'Undesirable Delay' in CEMA Meeting [CTK]	16
Press on Balance of Power, Soviet Mideast Policy [CTK]	16
Arms Shipment to Jordan Stopped in FRG [Prague Radio]	16
SFRY To Expel Citizens for Arms Smuggling [Prague Radio]	16
Nuclear Reactor Shut Down for 'Planned Overhaul' [CTK]	17
Anti-Semitic Incident in Assembly Reported [Cech in ZEMEDELSE NOVINY 22 Feb]	17
Interior Ministry Accused of Misusing Information [RUDE PRAVO 20 Feb, etc.]	17
Trade Minister on Foreign Investment in Country [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 20 Feb]	18
New State Bank To Ease Companies' Debt Burden [Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Feb]	19
State Bank Chairman Comments on Monetary Policy [NARODNA OBRODA 21 Feb, etc.]	19

Federal Official on Television, Radio Disputes	[NARODNA OBRODA 21 Feb]	19
Havel Spokesman on Civic Forum Congress	[CTK]	20
New Center-Left Group Established	[CTK]	20
CTK Director Not To Lead OF Left Wing	[CTK]	20
Commentary on Possibility of Civic Forum 'Divorce'		
[Novacek in ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 23 Feb]		21
RUDE PRAVO Barred From KSCM Meeting	[RUDE PRAVO 19 Feb]	22
Officials Attend Public Against Violence Congress	[Prague Radio]	22
Gal Interviewed on Session	[Bratislava Radio]	22
Hungarian Initiative Joins Slovak Coalition	[Prague Radio]	23
Minority Leader on Problems of Slovaks in Hungary	[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 20 Feb]	23

HUNGARY

SZDSZ Official Interviewed on Party Prospects	[MAGYAR HIRLAP 21 Feb]	24
Minister Interviewed on USSR Trade Problems	[Budapest Radio]	24
Possible Involvement in Ruble 'Affair' Noted	[MTI]	25

POLAND

Walesa Discusses Privatization With Ministers	[PAP]	26
Sejm Holds 'Herted Debate,' Adopts Budget Law	[PAP]	26
Prime Minister on Need To Fight Inflation	[PAP]	26
Geremek Speculates on Sejm Dissolution Date	[PAP]	26
Solidarity Leader on Excessive Wage Tax Issue	[PAP]	27
OPZZ on Revision of Balcerowicz Economic Plan	[PAP]	27
Liberal Congress Leaders Meet Journalists	[PAP]	27
Commission Launches Defense Reform Teams	[Warsaw TV]	27
Skubiszewski on Gorbachev Gulf Peace Plan	[PAP]	27
Request To Inspect Soviet Bases Unanswered	[PAP]	28
Majority Approve of Nation's Foreign Policy	[PAP]	28
SZTANDAR MŁODYCH, Other Papers Sold	[GAZETA WYBORCZA 23-24 Feb]	28
PAP, Zarebski Discuss Press Agency's Future	[PAP]	28
'Observer' Television Program, Editor Reinstated	[PAP]	29

ROMANIA

Civic Alliance Issues Appeal Against Violence	[ROMANIA LIBERA 19 Feb]	30
UDMR Condemned for Offering Aid to Strikers	[LIBERTATEA 15-16 Feb]	30
'Repeated Attempts To Restrict Rights' Deplored	[ROMANIA LIBERA 20 Feb]	30
Center-Left Alliance 'Backs' Government	[ROMPRES]	31
Cornea Protests Persecution of Intellectuals	[DREPTATEA 20 Feb]	31
Roman Accepts Minister Stoica's Resignation	[ROMPRES]	32
Iliescu, Roman Meet With Agriculture Experts	[ROMPRES]	32
Iliescu Issues Statement	[ROMPRES]	32
* Statement of Bucharest Front Convention	[AZI 29 Jan]	32
* Ratiu Letter to Prosecutor on June Events	[DREPTATEA 29 Jan]	34
January Economic Growth Lower Than in 1990	[ROMPRES]	35
Soviet Trade Official on Gas Delivery	[ROMPRES]	35
Moldovans Protest Recruiting in Soviet Army	[ROMPRES]	36
Transylvania Protests Hungarian Program Cuts	[Budapest Radio]	36

YUGOSLAVIA

Jovic Reviews Sarajevo Presidency Results	[TANJUG]	37
Joint Principles of Constitutional System	[TANJUG]	38
Mesic Meets Tourism Officials; Views Secession	[TANJUG]	39
Finance Secretary on Republics' Unsettled Debts	[POLITIKA 15 Feb]	39

Federal Chamber Delegates on Armed Groups	[BORBA 21 Feb]	40
Tudjman: Border Problems Will Cause Frictions	[Vienna DER STANDARD 26 Feb]	41
Tudjman, Mesic Comment on Sarajevo Meeting	[TANJUG]	41
Spegelj, Others Accused of 'Armed Rebellion'	[TANJUG]	41
Izetbegovic's Presidency Statements 'Surprise'	[Belgrade Radio]	42
Bosnians Clarify Stand on Future of Federation	[OSLOBODJENJE 24 Feb]	42
Gilgorov Will Not Endorse Macedonian Candidates	[TANJUG]	42
Teachers' Strike in Kosovo, Metohija Ends	[TANJUG]	43
Government Prepares Accord To End 'Media War'	[TANJUG]	43

Reports of Unrest in Tirana Continue

AFP Says 100 Arrested, 12 Killed

AU2502125291 Paris AFP in English 1229 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 25 (AFP)—Around 100 people were arrested over the weekend in Tirana, official sources in Albania said Monday [25 February], following clashes that saw three dead according to an official toll and at least a dozen killed according to independent sources.

The arrests were carried out over the past three days, a local journalist contacted by telephone said, citing official figures broadcast on Albanian television, monitored here. Thirty of the arrests took place Sunday outside the Enver Hoxha military academy in Tirana, according to an Interior Ministry statement issued late Sunday.

The weekend's violence started at around 1630 GMT Friday when demonstrators gathered outside the academy chanting "hostile slogans", the statement said. Security forces were "forced to fire after being coming under fire from destructive elements in the crowd", it continued.

A local human rights activist told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE he had seen the bodies of two young people, aged under 25, at the morgue after they had died from gunshot wounds.

On Saturday, the Interior Ministry statement continued, demonstrators "increased the tension by blocking roads, throwing Molotov cocktails and by firing three times at the military academy".

The official toll of three dead included a policeman. An officer of the military academy was wounded on Sunday morning by gunfire from the roof of a building close to the academy.

An army officer cited by a local journalist said that Friday's shooting started when civilian demonstrators opened fire following false rumours that cadets of the academy intended to install a bust of Enver Hoxha, Albania's longtime communist leader, in Tirana's main Skenderbeg Square.

Last Wednesday 100,000 pro-democracy demonstrators tore down a huge statue of the hardline communist leader Enver Hoxha in Skenderbeg Square. Opposition leaders said the weekend's incidents were a "provocation", and described as a "manoeuvre against political pluralism" the holding of pro-Hoxha demonstrations in several provincial towns.

Albanians, preparing for free elections on March 31, are increasingly divided on the role of Enver Hoxha, who practised a particularly rigid form of Stalinism for 40 years until his death in 1985. Meanwhile France called on Albanian authorities Monday to "preserve political dialogue and civil peace", saying it was following the situation in the country "with close attention". Foreign

affairs spokesman Daniel Bernard said France hopes the Albanian authorities would "do everything they can to maintain civil peace".

Meanwhile in neighbouring Greece, troop reinforcements were deployed along the border with Albania amid fears that the crackdown in Tirana could trigger a massive exodus of Albanian refugees. The garrison at Ioannina, the main town in north-western Greece has been reinforced with troops from Athens and other areas, according to an AFP correspondent in the region.

Between Friday morning and Monday morning, 264 Albanians, including 35 soldiers still in their uniforms, crossed the border and asked for political asylum, police in Ioannina said. Since January 31, 3,311 Albanians have fled to Greece including 1,350 Christians of Greek origin.

Witnesses interviewed by AFP in the border region said about 50 Albanian refugees were taken every day to Kakavia on the border to be handed back to the Albanian authorities.

PDSH Spokesman Comments

AU2502133691 Vienna Domestic Service
in German 1100 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Arming Wolf report on news conference by Democratic Party Spokesman Genc Pollo with unidentified reporters in Vienna on 25 February—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Genc Pollo, the spokesman of Albania's largest opposition party, the Democratic Party, gave a news conference in Vienna today, during which he assessed the current situation in Tirana. The situation is extremely critical, he stressed. Only a few hours ago, he spoke on the telephone with the headquarters of his party in Tirana.

[Pollo] "[Name indistinct], one of the leaders told me that a military patrol stopped two civilians on a side road at 2000 yesterday evening, and asked them to produce identity cards. They did not have any, and so the patrol fired shots at them. One person was killed, and the other one was injured. The corpse cannot be found, and the injured man is in the hospital."

At least three people were killed last Friday [22 February] by military officials during a demonstration. Between 60 and 70 people were arrested during the weekend [23-24 February], including activists from the Democratic Party, Pollo reported. Tanks took a position in central Tirana to protect the headquarters of the Communist Party and the government buildings; however, a military coup has not taken place in the past few days, Genc Pollo stated.

[Pollo] "One cannot speak of a normal coup, because a coup should topple the government. Alia has not been overthrown. We cannot furnish proof, but Alia is probably behind the military action."

It is not quite clear how the power is distributed between state and party leader Ramiz Alia, the military, the government that was reshuffled on Friday, and the newly created Presidential Council, Pollo stressed. He views the government reshuffle as a positive step. It is true that the new government members are communists, but they are younger and more professional than the old ones. He does not, however, know how powerful the new government is; it is not quite clear who controls the situation at the moment.

[Pollo] "The military and the security forces, and, above all, the Stalinist wing of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] are active now and are trying to organize pro-Enver Hoxha rallies in the most important towns. There they call on people to participate in a march to Tirana."

It cannot be ruled out that a state of emergency will be called soon, Pollo stated.

[Pollo] "This scenario may well be prepared. The whole thing started as early as in December. The strategy is clear: There was unrest—organized unrest—on 13 December. Police did not interfere and looked on while people were destroying shops. Then a campaign of threats and slander was started. Counterdemonstrations were organized by the PPSh when the Democratic Party [PDSH] staged rallies."

Free elections have allegedly been scheduled for 31 March. Genc Pollo from the PDSH, the largest opposition party, stated.

[Pollo] "I can hardly imagine that these will be normal elections. The PDSH will decide what it is going to do. It is not really advisable to participate under the present conditions; however, a decision has not yet been made."

If elections take place and if the PDSH takes part in them, it would not participate in a coalition; it would not participate in a communist-led coalition government nor would the PDSH form a coalition with the communists if it won a majority, Pollo stressed. An election campaign, however, would be extremely difficult for the PDSH with its 60,000 members. It lacks access to the mass media and most of the material preconditions to be able to compete with the huge propaganda apparatus of the PPSh. Genc Pollo described the program of the PDSH in the following way: We are in favor of the observance of human rights, in favor of a state governed by the rule of law, and we advocate the market economy. However, things are not so easy, Pollo stated. We only know exactly what we are against. It is not so clear yet what we advocate.

Press on Hoxha Statue Incident

AU2502222491

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT and BASHKIMI in Albanian on 21 February both carry on their first pages the text of President Ramiz Alia's 20 February radio and television speech on the overthrow of Enver Hoxha's monument. Both papers also carry on page one the Council of Ministers' communique.

BASHKIMI also carries on pages one and three a 1,200-word Vladimir Zoto report, "Students on Hunger Strike, Tirana Demonstrates," and a photograph on page one showing demonstrators, with the caption: "Thousands and thousands of people in Skenderbeg Square yesterday, after toppling Enver Hoxha's monument."

ZERI I POPULLIT carries no other items on the demonstrations of 20 February.

Cameria Association Appeals For 'Brotherhood'

AU2402213791 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 24 Feb 91

["Appeal Addressed to the Entire Albanian People by the Cameria Political and Patriotic Association," issued in Tirana on 24 February]

[Text] Brothers and sisters, the Cameria Political and Patriotic Association, like all the people, is experiencing with pain the highly dramatic way in which the destiny of the homeland and the nation are being trifled with. For us and for every honest Albanian, the lofty interests of the homeland have been and remain above everything else. An endless line of martyrs gave their lives for the homeland. Recent events are leading the country toward a catastrophe, threatening as never before the life, freedom, honor, and present and future of the Albanian people. We call on all the people not to fall into the traps of our domestic and foreign enemies, who are inciting and organizing fratricide to slake their thirst with Albanian blood. This is murder, the greatest treachery that can be committed against this people. Albania, so poor and with so many needs, must not be burned and devastated by destructive forces. Let us bend our backs to our work, to obtain what we lack through skill and the sweat of our brows, and may what we buy be for the general good of the Albanian people. We have great hope that the national consciences not only of political and state personalities but all Albanians whether member of parties or not, will be stirred, and that in total brotherhood, as sons of the same mother and in calm, understanding, and tolerance, we will head towards the future together, preventing the great evil which threatens us from those who want to make a grave of Albania. Brothers and sisters, Albania above everything.

The Cameria Political and Patriotic Association.

Tirana, 24 February 1991.

Independent Trade Unions Appeal to Workers

AU2402155491 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 91

["Appeal of the Initiating Commission of the Independent Trade Unions," issued in Tirana on 23 February]

[Text] The course of events in our country is leading the country toward bloodshed. It is a matter of our blood, which drop by drop [words indistinct] like no other

people of Europe. It is a matter of blood that must be preserved for a noble cause, and shed in the defense of the homeland and the nation. At this serious moment, we appeal to all working people of the country to maintain cool heads, to continue their work, to avoid assemblies, and to create stability. We support the creation of the Presidential Council, and demand, in pursuit of efforts to create a law-governed state, that it should begin its work to enforce the law. We demand that it should immediately dissolve all illegal organizations of whatever form and with whatever aims. We call on working people not to engage in any kind of strike, and on political parties to stop their ideological battle and to create a united bloc to stabilize the situation.

Whatever happens, we must not shed our blood. Our historical mission is to expend our sweat in the interests of the homeland and the people.

Tirana, 23 February 1991.

Human Rights Forum Appeals Against 'Tragedy'

*AU2402145791 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 91*

["Call of the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights," issued on 23 February; place not given]

[Text] The Forum for the Defense of Human Rights is strongly moved by the events taking place since yesterday around the military schools in Tirana and in other cities. The conscience of every Albanian cannot allow Albanian soldiers and Albania's sons, whether citizens, civilians, or soldiers, to fill the hospitals beds and the morgues. [Words indistinct]. In these times, so fraught with emotion and the fine dreams and hopes for what the establishment of pluralism will mean for the progress of Albania, the blood of every Albanian is highly precious.

The Forum for the Defense of Human Rights turns to the entire people to prevent any tragedy. The tragedy of any citizen is part of our common tragedy. No political interest can justify those who cause such tragedies. We hope that every Albanian will judge the situation in this way.

Human Rights Forum Visits Tirana Prisons

*AU2502211091 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian
21 Feb 91 pp 1, 3*

[Statement by the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights; place and date not given]

[Text] Representatives of the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights recently paid visits to two prisons in Tirana.

1. In Prison Department No. 313, the Forum's representatives met the prisoners Petraq Xhacca and Enrik Veizi, both convicted of "espionage" as members of the so-called "oil group" by the Supreme Court on 10 January 1987. In the course of the conversation, the two prisoners stated that they were totally innocent, and that the entire trial had been rigged against them. They spoke at

length, and said that the investigating organizations had used base and inhuman methods against them, forcing them to confess their guilt. They now demand a retrial under normal conditions, and are convinced that they will prove their total innocence.

The case of these two prisoners leads us to the major question of an entire group of prisoners tried and sentenced for "serious crimes against the state," who have not benefited from the measures recently taken for the release of political prisoners. According to recent official data, this group consists of 108 people who are to remain in prison, and who are not included under the Presidium's decrees of recent months. The Forum considers that there is every reason to believe that there were serious violations of the law in many trials in the past, that arbitrary measures were taken, and that many people were sentenced either totally unjustly or with their guilt exaggerated. The Forum suggests to the president of the Supreme Court and the procurator general the creation of a special commission of qualified, impartial, and disinterested lawyers empowered to rigorously and responsibly consider these cases one by one, and to eventually decide on the review of all trials found to conflict with the regulations of a law-governed state.

2. Representatives of the Human Rights Forum also went to another prison, Department No. 325, where those convicted of ordinary crimes serve their sentences. After a short briefing by the governor, they examined the prisoners' living conditions and listened to their comments and requests. The Forum's representatives saw for themselves that living, catering, and working conditions, although modest, are adequate under today's circumstances. The prisoners themselves thought the same, and they compared the regime under which they live to that in a military unit. There is nevertheless room for further improvement, particularly in clothing.

The Forum's representatives conducted many conversations with prisoners, men, women, and minors (under the age of 18). In the course of these conversations, various problems emerged, which the Forum believes should be considered by the relevant authorities. First, one is struck by the extremely long sentences of 15-20-25 years for "misappropriation of socialist property." These are especially serious in the case of women, whose isolation causes many difficulties for their homes and families, and particularly for the fate of their children. The Forum expresses the view that the question of a pardon for women or the significant reduction of their sentences must be raised. In general, the problem of revising penal legislation must be studied to make it more humane and in line with progressive standards and the experience of democratic countries. Our present penal legislation is excessively punitive, whereas it should have an educational purpose.

Second, one cannot fail to consider that sentences were pronounced at a time when there were no attorneys; in other words, in the absence of a vital ingredient in a normal criminal trial. The reintroduction of attorneys

marks a break with the past, but this break would be only partial if it were not extended to cover previous court practice. Prisoners generally demand a review of their trials with the qualified help of attorneys.

Third, regarding convicts under the age of 18, our view is that the most suitable place for them is not a branch of the prison, but the Institution for the Reeducation of Minors that now operates in Lezhe. Only this institution can offer a genuine opportunity to fully reintegrate adolescents into the normal life of society.

Police Rebut Human Rights Forum's Accusations

*AU2202142591 Tirana International Service
in German 1330 GMT 22 Feb 91*

[Text] The newspaper BASHKIMI publishes an open letter from the members of Unit No. 326, a special unit of the forces of order, addressed to the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights about the conclusions drawn by this Forum regarding the events in Durres on 9 February, which resulted in clashes between civilians and members of this unit.

This letter states that the unit does not agree with the Forum's description of it as a force of blind violence. The members of this unit relied on the laws in force and the rules governing their work as members of the People's Police. With our behavior according to the law, the letter goes on to state, we will increase a sense of security among the people and deter all delinquents.

International Radio Director on 'Free Press'

*AU2602090991 Tirana ZERI I RINISE
in Albanian 16 Feb 91 p 4*

[Interview with Napoleon Roshi, director of Radio Tirana International Service, by Remzi Lani; place and date not given: "Let Us Not Delay in Moving Toward Europe"]

[Text] [Lani] From what we have noticed, our foreign-language broadcasts and those for our compatriots have many listeners within Albania. They are generally appreciated, especially for the objectivity of their reports. What would you say to our young readers?

[Roshi] The International Service is almost 50 years old, but it has especially grown in the last 30 years. We used to broadcast in 20 foreign languages. I do not want to talk about the past, but it is absurd today to broadcast in 20 foreign languages. It is inexcusable to provide no more programs for our 7 million compatriots than for the Portuguese or Brazilians. Therefore, one of our first steps as soon as the Radio and Television acquired its new status as a system was to cut the number of languages. We stopped broadcasting in four languages, and cut in half the broadcasting time allotted to eight other languages. At the same time, we doubled the broadcasting time for our compatriots.

The industrious journalists of the International Service have said to themselves: Let us be honest professionals,

let us not broadcast anything that goes against our clean consciences and the country's unity, stability, and independence. Each journalist works with his own material as if he were a chief or director. If he conducts an interview, and wants to omit something, he tells his interviewee to his face. He also mentions when the interview will be broadcast. On the radio, we are at pains to keep track of and reflect the whole democratic process. Each of us asks himself: What do listeners want to learn from us today? If there is a student movement, and the journalist on duty reports it at the end of the broadcast and not at the beginning, as has happened in recent days, this is an indictment of himself. In acting in this way, with a sense of civil responsibility and professionalism, we have earned credibility in the world. News agencies and foreign radio stations today are referring increasingly often to Radio Tirana for what is happening in Albania. I think that this means something, because until yesterday, unfortunately, TANJUG or somebody else was often used as a source for reports.

[Lani] Napoleon, as a veteran journalist, what do you think about the progress of the alternative press?

[Roshi] The emergence of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, and now most recently REPUBLIKA, acted as a shock that peeled away a great deal of rust and stirred much stagnant water in the press and Radio-Television; however, we must realize that we did not achieve RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE overnight. The articles of our most distinguished intellectuals in DRITA, BASHKIMI, or ZERI I POPULLIT were precursors of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE and of a freer press in general. Intellectuals experienced moments of hesitation before emerging on the battlefield for democracy. There were moments in which it seemed that extreme wings were trying to attach themselves to the two main parties "for democracy." I have the impression, however, that the intelligentsia's inexcusable silence in these decisive moments through which the country is passing is now ending. The newspapers DRITA and ZERI I RINISE, and I would say BASHKIMI, too, are leading with articles displaying a sense of civil responsibility, such as those by Bardhyl Londo, Diana Culi, Neshat Tozaj, Ismet Elezi, Zija Cela, Briseida Mema, Rudolf Marku, Kico Blushi, Qemal Sakajeva, and many, many others.

I do not think anyone, least of all intellectuals, can be excused for keeping silent. An intellectual journalist cannot be forgiven for engaging in polemics at a time when the people need to know how and when the shops will be filled. No intellectual who is attached to a press organ or is a member of a managing body can be forgiven for conforming to retrograde and antidemocratic decisions. It is a time for everyone to assist in the birth of democracy. The television is doing well in organizing studio debates on what policies should be pursued in the countryside and on the draft constitution, etc. The truth cannot be found without a clash of minds in the press and on the radio and television. No one can lay claim to a monopoly of the truth. How can you keep silent about the provisions of the Constitution, the powers the future

president will wield, and titles and symbols, when these involve the destiny of the nation? How can we continue to acquiesce to decisions and promises by those in government that only exacerbate market shortages, or still worse, how can we glorify provocative counterrallies in the press? Today, more than ever before, we journalists, regardless of whether we work in party organizations or supraparty organizations, must put the homeland's interests before everything and not allow ourselves to be mastered by party emotions.

[Lani] What do you think are the prospects for an independent press?

[Roshi] It has been and still is difficult for all of us journalists. We have even been obliged to broadcast news items stating that a handful of students... at a time when this handful consisted of thousands and thousands of students. We have raised our voices and have even said that we are ready to hand in our resignations. The truth is, however, that, in practice, you cannot hand in your resignation, because each of us can hardly wait for the end of the two-week pay period to collect our wages. There are few who have laid aside enough money to support themselves in some way. The question of the status of journalists, newspapers, and the radio and television is now a vital issue. A step forward has been taken for us in Radio-Television. We are now no longer dependent on the Press Section of the Albanian Workers' Party Central Committee, but on the Council of Ministers. This is a temporary solution, acceptable until the elections are held. A press law is being drafted, and we hope that this law will be comprehensive. Nevertheless, it must be discussed and approved by journalists themselves. It is those who have suffered most from the travails of the press who aspire more than anyone else to a free press and want a recognized status for journalists. Let us hope that a free press will come along with other benefits after the 31 March elections. Until that time, each of us has the duty to the homeland to help democracy with democratic articles on the democratic road, refusing to conform with anything regressive.

[Lani] As an intellectual, what is your view of our current road?

[Roshi] I am not exaggerating when I say that as a people, a nation, and a state we are passing through what is perhaps our most difficult period. I think there is a very disquieting problem, beyond our major economic difficulties, and that is loss of faith. Let us be realistic, and look reality in the eye. What happened in Durres and on the southern and northern borders, and the discussions that take place within our families about how to go abroad testify precisely to such a loss of faith. None of the parties is talking openly to the people about this blight. We continue to beat drums, issue decrees, and make empty promises when it is time to sit down around the table, talk, and find points of contact, even finding ways in which we can govern together so we may advance calmly, even in the changed circumstances after

31 March. We interview businessmen and foreign government representatives every day about investments in Albania. Though perhaps this is an exaggeration, I have so far not seen a single foundation stone laid. One thing is true: European countries and large firms are interested in establishing positions in Albania. All forms of capital eye us greedily as the gate to the Balkans and the Middle East, a virgin country for tourism, and a country with cheap labor; however, the West is merely taking up a position and waiting in the current situation of instability and insecurity. Will the times wait for us, and can we not do something to shorten this period of waiting? A committee of public salvation and a government of specialists would perhaps be the best way to inspire the confidence both of the people and of foreign capital until the elections.

[Lani] As an analyst of international problems, what do you think of the diplomatic steps that have been taken?

[Roshi] Unfortunately, we have always been late and it now seems that we are paying a tax to Europe for this stubborn delay. As the saying goes, however, it is all past and forgotten. The important thing is not to persist in this stubbornness. I understand our difficulties, but I cannot agree with our Foreign Ministry's visits to Latin America and Asia. We should have good relations with these countries, but the efforts of our diplomacy should concentrate above all on the Balkans and Europe. This would solve our problems. I think that our apparatuses suffer from clumsiness and bureaucracy; however, our diplomacy, both centrally and in the embassies, suffers particularly from bureaucracy, nepotism, clumsiness, and incompetence. The time has come to bring patriotic diplomats into our embassies. The time has come for our diplomacy to speak to Europe with new voices, voices which know tens of thousands of other words besides "no."

Priest Interviewed on Status of Church

AU2302153691 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
22 Feb 91 p 5

[Interview with Priest Simon Jubani by Paul Richard Blum; place and date not given: "Albania's Catholics Initiated the Changes"; first paragraph is DIE WELT introduction]

[Text] Simon Jubani (born in 1928), a priest from the Albanian town of Shkoder, is currently in Italy to inform the West about his country. On 13 February he was received by the pope. Jubani was imprisoned from 15 January 1964 to 12 April 1989 because of "agitation and propaganda against communism." His older brother, Lazer Jubani, who was also a priest, spent 36 years in prison where he underwent torture and forced labor. He died in prison from poisoning on 29 July 1987 at the age of 59.

[Blum] The Albanian Catholic Church has been destroyed. How many believers and priests have survived?

[Jubani] It is true that the Albanian church has been completely destroyed. Only 100 of a total of 500 churches still exist, but all of them are decaying. We lack

everything. People are literally craving religious things. Of Albania's total population of 3.2 million people, 12 percent is Catholic, 18 percent is Orthodox, and the rest is Muslim. A total of 27 priests and one bishop who is not in office, have survived. Their average age is 67.

[Blum] How did priests and believers survive?

[Jubani] The Catholic minority survived the cruel Byzantine persecution that lasted 950 years, the Turkish persecution that lasted 500 years, and the communist persecution that lasted nearly half a century. Catholicism in Albania may be most primitive, but at the same time it is also most fearless. Most of the time we had no priests, and there were no institutions. On 11 and 14 January the Catholics were the first ones to take to the streets and to demonstrate peacefully against Stalinism. It was the Catholics who celebrated the first mass on 4 November 1990, in the presence of 4,000 believers, in the damaged chapel of the old Catholic cemetery, a cemetery that was repeatedly desecrated by the state. The graves were opened, for example, to rob golden teeth. When 50,000 to 60,000 people from all over Albania celebrated mass on 11 November, the Interior Ministry recorded the whole ceremony with television cameras. During this religious service, we gave a highly political speech. After that date, the Communist Party [Albanian Workers' Party—PPSh] started to open itself up to the world and to grant political and religious liberties.

[Blum] Where do the Catholics live?

[Jubani] The majority of Catholics live in the Shkoder region with the five mountains, in the villages of Malesi e Madhe, Dukagjin, Mirdite, Puke, and Lezhe. Among the Moslems and Orthodox families in the capital of Tirana, there are about 700 Catholic families. There are three churches in Tirana. The Communist Party spared only the smallest, the Franciscan Church, which was turned into a puppet theater. There is one 87-year-old priest in Tirana. In Durres the churches, the parsonage, and the bishop's seat are occupied by the government. There and in the neighboring villages, there are 300 Catholic families without a priest. In Shkoder, the center of Catholicism, mass was celebrated in the open air in the cold. On 20 December 1990 the government placed the Franciscan church at our disposal. To be able to speak of a church, repairs totally 1 million leks would be necessary. Mass is being said there as well.

[Blum] Did the Catholics face special persecution?

[Jubani] Catholics used to suffer and are still suffering a threefold persecution—namely, persecution by the Moslems, the Orthodox, and the Communists. We have survived a genocide that was as radical as one can picture. Whereas the other groups used brutality and force, we were the dominating moral and cultural force. Between 1917 and 1944 we were the leading force in the whole of Albania, in the cultural, moral, economic, and political sphere. We had our schools, printing offices, and other cultural and social institutions at the time that were destroyed and not rebuilt.

[Blum] Was there any special "treatment" for believers in prison?

[Jubani] Outside and inside prisons people from southern Albania were treated in a better way because they brought communism to the country. Those people used to dominate the whole country with their tyranny, their vices, their dialect, their customs, and their habits. Catholic priests suffer most from persecution, but also people from northern Albania, Catholic believers, and Muslims.

[Blum] What are relations between Christians and Muslims like?

[Jubani] Communism has not convinced anybody with its ideology, but it destroyed the feeling of shame and humbleness everywhere. Muslim teachings have nearly disappeared. Only fanaticism has remained.

When the Catholics organized anti-Stalinist demonstrations and forced the government on 11 and 14 January 1990 to remove the big Stalin monument in Shkoder, the Muslim brothers called for weapons to kill us, under the pretense that we were disturbing public order. Today they are demanding weapons to fight with Saddam Husayn against the multinational Christians.

[Blum] What about your relations with the Orthodox Church?

[Jubani] Our relations with the Orthodox Church are quite good because of our friendly attitude. By the way, I was the first one to pay a visit to the leader of the Muslims in Shkoder, accompanied by a few Catholic laymen. Later we received a visit from them. When we visited them, they were surprised because they should have visited us first, because we were the first ones who to open our churches. Later the Muslims opened their mosques. In any case, the Catholics benefited from this meeting. The communist regime did not like the encounter between the two confessions at all.

[Blum] What are the most urgent problems in your church?

[Jubani] The things we need most urgently are moral and economic aid. The state should give back to us the churches and other buildings that it confiscated. I would like to mention the cathedrals of Shkoder, Tirana, Durres, Lezhe, Mirdite, Dukagjin, Puke, Malesi e Madhe. There are Catholic communities in all these communes. The presence of priests is decisive for the immediate future of the Albanian church. In the social sphere, a welfare institution for the sick and poor should be established as soon as possible. Training facilities for priests and nuns would be important, not only for the church but also for the revival of the entire social and cultural life in Albania. There are enough people who would like to become priests or nuns. What we really need is a bishop in Albania.

[Blum] What will change in Albania?

[Jubani] Changes are vital for survival. A thorough analysis of the situation is the precondition for changes in Albania. Albania is too Byzantine, too Ottoman, too Serbian, Russian, and Chinese to be able to call itself European. Albania is too sick and too small. It is different from all other former satellites of the Soviet Union, because Marx' atheist doctrine was applied to the bitter end, and because human consciousness was completely monopolized.

All, with the exception of the Catholics, neglected the idea of Europe. Through the complete suppression of the religions, even the most basic liberties and human rights were abolished. In Albania, communism was not only imported by the Soviet Army, as in East Germany, Poland, etc., but it was established by the southern Albanians who dominate life in our country.

If the West is willing to help the countries that have been liberated as a result of perestroyka, Albania needs a different form of aid: Those who support the Catholic community help the whole of Albania.

Presidential Council Member Mejdani Interviewed

AU2402140891 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 2100 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Interview with Presidential Council member Rexhep Mejdani by Sokol Perihati in Tirana on 23 February—recorded]

[Text] [Perihati] Professor, the Presidential Council was formed yesterday [words indistinct].

[Mejdani] Yesterday's meeting of the Presidential Council reached the conclusion that today's political, economic, social, and cultural situation in Albania is extremely, extremely exceptional. To confront this situation, all forces, whether political or cultural, including ordinary people and all intellectuals, must mobilize themselves to establish peace and calm, and must return to work. Only in this way, with calm in the country and mobilization, can we achieve free and democratic elections and achieve that great pluralist assembly to which the country's future is tied.

I also wish to stress that the Presidential Council will make maximum efforts alongside the new government to strive to enforce the law in all the work of the Albanian state. All citizens must abide by this law, from the president of the Presidium to the most ordinary citizen. The recently observed violations of the law can lead to nothing but anarchy. As a member of the Presidential Council, I call on all the people to abide by the law, and to struggle wherever they may be to ensure that the law is rigorously respected.

Trade Unions Disown 'Independent Trade Unions'

AU2502205191 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Feb 91

["Explanation by the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania," issued in Tirana on 25 February]

[Text] Calls and declarations have been issued in recent days on the radio and television and in some organs of the press in the name of a commission that calls itself the Initiating Commission for the creation of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania. In this connection, many letters, telegrams, and telephone calls have reached the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, asking what this independent commission and this trade union really are. We investigated this matter at the Ministry of Justice, where we were told that the ministry, on the basis of the decree of the presidium of the People's Assembly, has approved and legally recognized only the application of the Initiating Commission for the creation of a social organization called the Free and Independent Miners Union, while the self-appointed Initiating Commission for the creation of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania has so far not been legally recognized. Under these circumstances, we issue this explanation to the members of our organization, so they will not be taken in and become bewildered, and will not confuse the work and reconstruction of our organization with the calls and activities of this illegal commission.

General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania.

25 February, 1991.

Kosovar Delegation Continues Visit

Received by PRSh's Godo

AU2502141591 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Tirana, February 25 (ATA)—On February 24, the distinguished Kosovo activist, chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova and the members of the Presidency of this League, Ali Aliu and Bujar Bukoshi were received in the seat of the Albanian Republican Party by Sabri Godo, chairman of the Initiating Commission of this party. Attending the reception were also members of this commission.

Delegation Departs

AU2502171591 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1700 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, and presidium members Ali Aliu and Bujar Bukoshi, who paid a visit to Albania, left our country today. They were seen off at Rinas Airport by Sihat Tozaj, secretary to the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Dr. Sali Berisha, chairman of the Managing Commission of the Democratic Party of Albania.

Foreign Minister Vukov States Policy Objectives*AU2402193191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
20 Feb 91 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Viktor Vukov by Ivanka Khlebarova; place and date not given: "The Forthcoming Dialogues Mark the European Character of Bulgarian Foreign Policy"]

[Text] [Khlebarova] Recently there has been a lot of public talk about our foreign policy priorities. In your view, have these priorities changed during the months following the elections, and how would you define them now?

[Vukov] The formation of a legislature on the basis of the results of the free elections held last June and the processes of democratization in social relations have naturally led to changes in Bulgarian foreign policy in both the institutional and conceptual-intellectual aspects. Under the conditions of strengthening legislative democracy and the multiparty political system, we are shaping new goals, priorities, principles, and approaches in Bulgarian foreign policy. The implementation of these in practice should ensure the most favorable external conditions and assistance, both for Bulgaria's economic and intellectual revival and for reliably guaranteeing our national security.

The goals and priorities of Bulgaria's foreign policy were set out clearly and categorically during the visits made by Bulgarian President Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev to Strasbourg and Czechoslovakia.

In general terms, our priorities lie in the following main directions:

- Drawing and integrating Bulgaria into the existing and developing structures of a Europe that is moving toward unification, as a main direction for further opening our country up to the world. Without this, we could hardly count on successfully resolving the complex problems of the transition to a market economy and the development of a modern civic society.

Bulgaria will continue to assist in promoting the most intensive possible cooperation in Europe, both within the framework of the institutionalization of the all-European process and through the existing integrational structures, such as the Council of Europe, the EEC, the European Parliament, and so on. We are also directing our attention toward making good use of the potential of our bilateral relations with the European democracies. All this is especially important in finding new ways to stimulate our political, economic, and cultural development, and to provide lasting guarantees for our national security.

- Developing and strengthening relations with the neighboring Balkan countries on the basis of balanced interests, mutual respect, and strict observance of each country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. This entails intensifying and enriching the contacts and

meetings at different levels, with a view to maintaining good-neighborly relations with all our Balkan partners. Subregional cooperation, both in the Balkans as a whole and in the Black Sea region, is increasingly establishing itself as an inalienable part of the all-European process, which we believe should also be extended to enable other interested neighboring countries to play a part.

As the government declaration pointed out, our diplomats will work actively to ensure that the development of mutually beneficial cooperation between Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, and the United States should be infused with new content, which corresponds first and foremost to our own national interests.

In parallel with this, we will work to preserve all the favorable elements in our relations with our partners in other regions of the world. Our own interests demand this.

[Khlebarova] What are the principles of Bulgarian foreign policy today?

[Vukov] The new processes and trends emerging in Bulgarian society, as well as in the system of international relations, have inevitably led to overcoming dogmatism and bias in the theory and practice of Bulgarian diplomacy. We have put an end to the distorted concept of internationalism that spurned those elements that do not form the basis of our foreign policy: now, the national interests of the Bulgarian people are placed above everything.

Today we have good reason to state that there exists a national consensus that our foreign policy should be supraparty in nature, should be guided by realistic assessments, and set itself pragmatic and attainable goals. In our foreign policy goals and actions, we will be guided by universal human values and commonly accepted principles of interrelations between states, as embodied in the UN Charter, the Final Act of the All-European Conference and the documents that followed it, including the Paris charter for a new Europe.

[Khlebarova] What are the most important tasks that you have set yourself personally, as a minister?

[Vukov] For me as a minister, as well as for the entire Foreign Ministry staff, the tasks may be mainly summed up as implementing in practice the principles and priorities of Bulgarian foreign policy that I have already mentioned. In this way, by using specific political means, we will help to bring our country out of the grave economic crisis and overcome the calamity that has overtaken our people.

This requires close cooperation with the relevant legislative commissions, as appropriate, because the legislature is the institution under the Bulgarian Constitution that is charged with exercising supreme control over foreign policy. We also work in close coordination with

the other ministries and departments with responsibilities in the fields of foreign relations and the country's national security.

One of our principal tasks at present is to ensure that our country takes up its rightful place in international life as soon as possible. We are striving to achieve this through consolidating an independent foreign policy based on our national interests. This will help to delineate Bulgaria's new image in the eyes of our partners.

The state that our country is situated makes it necessary to direct all our efforts toward surmounting the existing severe economic problems. I am convinced that Bulgarian diplomacy can and must make an important contribution in this direction. To successfully accomplish all the aforementioned tasks, however, I consider it necessary, within the framework of the Foreign Ministry itself, to increasingly consolidate the professionalism and competence of our diplomatic officials. These qualities should form the sole criteria for assessing their capacities and prospects for development.

[Khlebarova] How will the Foreign Ministry view the issues of guaranteeing our national security in the conditions of leaving the Warsaw Pact?

[Vulfov] In my view, the disquiet that the Bulgarian public feels in the face of the emerging possibility that we will be left without any of the traditional guarantees for the country's external security is quite justified. It is clear to everyone that the time of bloc confrontation has passed. In addition, the radical process of democratization in the Warsaw Pact member countries, and the fundamental changes that have ensued in their views on issues of security and defense, have led to a de facto disintegration of the Warsaw Pact's military organization. The disintegration is taking place at a moment when the new all-European structures and mechanisms for security have not yet been created. Naturally, we should not destroy everything upon which we rely to defend our country against external aggression, before we have created other supports—modern and more lasting ones—for our national security.

Against the background of the tragic results of the incorrect strategy chosen for the country's economic development in the past, we now want to avoid any kind of biased orientation in seeking reliable international guarantees for our national security. For little Bulgaria, which occupies a specific position, with specific problems, in an important geostrategic region, such guarantees will be extremely necessary in the transitional period until a united Europe is created. We want to diversify the sources of the guarantees for our security, seeking solutions in all political directions, while respecting the international obligations our country has assumed.

The main directions for strengthening Bulgaria's external security, viewed with their interconnections and interdependence, encompass the following:

—Active participation in the all-European process, especially in its newly emerging structures and institutions for cooperation and mutual security.

Bulgaria is interested in the adoption of a mandate for new talks on security, disarmament, and confidence-building in Europe, with all the CSCE member states participating. For its own security needs, our country relies on the Center for Preventing Conflicts, which has been set up, and on the mechanism for discussing unusual military activities by the countries. The other possibilities for setting up mechanisms for guaranteeing security and stability on the continent by political means are also of special importance for us, as a small country. In the more general context of security and disarmament in Europe, we would like to see greater attention being paid to the specific problems of the countries of south-east Europe, to which we belong.

—Development and consolidation of good-neighborly relations with the Balkan states, in accordance with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and our country's bilateral accords.

—Adding new content to Bulgaria's relations with the United States and USSR, including strengthening and renewing the political and treaty foundation of our bilateral relations.

—Development of political relations with NATO and the Western European Union. It is well-known that Bulgaria was the first country to respond positively to the invitation extended by the NATO Council and to establish regular diplomatic relations with this organization. Practical work is already under way in our ministry on creating a mechanism for Bulgaria to maintain a permanent political dialogue with NATO and the Western European Union.

—Active participation in the United Nations and other worldwide international organizations, which are playing an increasingly important role for guaranteeing the security of small states under contemporary conditions.

We have no intention of leaving the problems of our security to others, so that they become totally dependent on other states, international organizations, and alliances. This approach naturally has certain limits in its application, and also requires the existence of solid and lasting common interests. In the dynamically developing modern world, we know that this is an extremely variable quantity and, for this very reason, in the future Bulgaria must increasingly rely upon its own economic and military potential to guarantee its people's national security. In this context, it is necessary to complete the reorganization of Bulgaria's Armed Forces that has begun, because our Armed Forces will be the chief national guarantor of our external security, based on the principles of reasonable and reliable defense sufficiency.

As far as Bulgaria's position regarding the future of the Warsaw Pact is concerned, it is based on certain basic premises:

—At the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in June 1990 in Moscow, it was decided to transform the Warsaw Pact into a political-consultative organization, while gradually eliminating its military organization. Specific decisions on this are to be adopted at a special conference of the Political Consultative Committee.

—Poland, Hungary, and the CSFR recently held joint consultations to discuss the possibility of bringing forward the convening of this conference. Our country does not want to feel isolated from the approach of these three states and is ready to take part in the further consultations on this issue, upon which we have no particular differences of opinion. Of course, we all hold the view that procedures exist that should be strictly observed. It is our sincere desire in the future to build up friendly and equal relations with all the present Warsaw Pact member countries.

[Khlebarova] Are there any plans to review certain bilateral treaties that are of importance for our security?

[Vulkov] In accordance with the new realities, there are plans to review the existing bilateral treaties of "friendship and cooperation" concluded in the past between Bulgaria and the other East European countries. A number of clauses in these treaties, as well as some of the political and ideological categories used in them, no longer correspond to the spirit of our times. This view is shared by all the parties to these agreements. The Foreign Ministry is already carrying out practical work on these questions, based primarily on our country's national interests.

[Khlebarova] Does your own personal program for the near future include any meetings of particular importance?

[Vulkov] The foreign policy of the new Bulgaria prescribes that our contacts should be extremely dynamic and intensive. Accordingly, my program for the coming weeks and months is packed with numerous meetings. It is envisaged that I will accompany President Zhelev on his visits to a number of West European states.

The foreign ministers of a number of European countries are also to make visits to Bulgaria.

The expected discussions will show the "European" character of our activities in the near future. There is nothing amazing in this: in this way, the European priorities of our policies will receive fresh confirmation.

Vulkov on Warsaw Pact Military Disbandment

AU2502220091 Sofia BTA in English 2120 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (BTA)—"In the new situation Bulgaria can no longer rely on the Warsaw Treaty as its security guarantor. That is why the Bulgarian delegation supports the adopted joint decision on the disbandment of the Warsaw Treaty military bodies and structures. Along with that, provided that all member states agree, we could contemplate the possibility to retain its political consultative functions in security and disarmament for an acceptable term, say, until the end of 1991," said Mr. Viktor Vulkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, addressing the extraordinary session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee here today.

The foreign minister emphasized that irrespective of the disbandment of the Warsaw Treaty military structures, Bulgaria believes it would be useful to keep up its cooperation with the armies of the rest of the countries on the national security concepts and the military doctrines, in the exchange of combat training experience and on other matters of shared concern. Bulgaria is interested in the promotion of political cooperation between the countries and is prepared to attend multilateral consultations by mutual agreement, he said.

Talking to Bulgarian correspondents, Mr. Vulkov assessed the session in positive terms. "In their statements the heads of delegation did not take opposing stands, there were just some shades of difference," he said. "A different decision was simply out of the question. The future of the Warsaw Treaty in a political aspect was not finally decided. Bulgaria believes in its future, Mr. Vulkov stressed that, in his view, this can be achieved in two ways: first, by getting integrated as soon as possible into the European security system, and secondly, by building the respective security measures on the basis of bilateral agreements.

Mr. Atanas Nastev, member of the Bulgarian delegation and head of the Foreign Ministry's General Political Affairs Department, voiced Bulgaria's concern that the establishment of these Europe-wide security structures lags behind the elimination of the bloc structures. In his view, national security in the broad sense of the word can also be built through the promotion of subregional cooperation.

Zhivkov, Balev Hear Indictment as Trial Opens

AU2502203991 Sofia BTA in English 1905 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—Todor Zhivkov, who ruled Bulgaria for 35 years, and Milko Balev, his right-hand man and hard-line proponent of Zhivkov's policy, went on trial today.

Amidst tight security, including body searches by metal detector, the journalists who had managed to get hold of passes crowded in a 250-seat courtroom of Sofia's Palace of Justice.

The court hearing was attended by the defendants' relatives: Zhivkov's son Vladimir Zhivkov, Zhivkov's granddaughter Evgenia Zhivkova and Balev's wife. Todor Zhivkov entered at 9:25 a.m., five minutes before the hearing opened.

Today, Zhivkov was not as beaming as he was ten days or so ago, when he testified in the trial of Stoyan Ovcharov, a former minister of the economy who had signed documents granting Zhivkov's grandson money to study abroad.

Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev were rather confused and looked as if they had not had enough sleep. During the routine identification procedure, Milko Balev spoke too loudly and almost shouted "yes" when asked about any previous convictions. "I was sentenced to death at the time of the antifascist resistance," he said.

After the opening of the trial, the prosecutor started reading the indictment. The defense lawyers of Todor Zhivkov, 79, raised an objection and the prosecutor said he did not mind if the defendants sat down while hearing the indictment.

After the indictment was read the presiding judge Ms. Stefanka Stoyanova declared the hearing closed at 13:10.

Tomorrow, at the next court hearing, Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev will be asked how they plead, guilty or not guilty of the charges brought against them.

Zhivkov Denies Guilt

AU2502171991 Sofia BTA in English 1641 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—Todor Zhivkov denies that he is guilty. Right after the first court hearing in his trial, he told the press that probably all Bulgarians wondered why he was not arraigned in a political trial.

According to the former dictator, his case had been referred to the court in contravention of the law of the land. "You saw what they did. There was, and still is, a law under which legal counsel must be present at trials, interrogations and investigations," he added.

The defendant repeated what his lawyers had told the court: That he had been denied the right to counsel during the preliminary investigation. "They questioned me for a month without a lawyer, just as they questioned some witnesses, but nevertheless the court is now proceeding with the case," he said.

Zhivkov Accuses Lukanov

AU2502151391 Sofia BTA in English 1437 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—"I am not God. I am a product of the times," says defendant No. 1 in an extensive interview published in "DUMA" on the first day of the trial.

In the interview conducted by Ms. Velislava Dureva Mr. Zhivkov maintains that "the trial is a foul and shameful farce". According to Mr. Zhivkov, upon coming to power in 1956, he undertook a "historic move to provide Bulgaria with cheap raw materials and secure its access to the enormous Soviet market". He added he had defended Bulgaria's interests, "to the best of his abilities", before the Soviet rulers and in 1987 he took steps to go back to the "genesis of Marxism" and open Bulgaria up to the West, for which he was reprimanded by Mikhail Gorbachev.

These excuses, mentioned in other interviews as well, are coupled with Mr. Zhivkov's complaints about his being a victim of "continuing pressure and malicious slurs". Mr. Zhivkov dismisses the allegations of possessing any documents that denounce him as the author of the idea of Bulgaria's integration into the USSR.

"The regenerative process was an attempt to incorporate the Muslim population to the Bulgarian state," says Bulgaria's former ruler, referring to the 1984-85 forcible assimilation campaign launched against the Bulgarian Muslims. Mr. Zhivkov says he has nothing to do with the mass exodus of Bulgarian Muslims and Turks to Turkey in 1989. "We used our propaganda and all our apparatus to convince them not to go," Mr. Zhivkov claims, adding later on, however, that the Politburo celebrated the "end of the migration drive".

Todor Zhivkov is particularly critical of Andrey Lukanov, his long-time aide and former prime minister of two socialist cabinets in 1990. "Lukanov let the Genie out," Mr. Zhivkov says. He accuses Mr. Lukanov of having committed "serious mistakes and offenses" and of "having sold out Bulgaria to the USSR".

Mr. Zhivkov complains that he "can rely neither on the people in power nor on the opposition". "My sole supporter is the world democratic community," he says in the end.

Prosecution Continues Trial

AU2502141991 Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—After a break in today's session of the trial of Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev, Ms. Stefanka Stoyanova, who presides the panel of the court, proceeded with the case. The request of Todor Zhivkov's defense to discontinue the action and return it for additional investigation was rejected.

Acknowledging the fact that in the course of the first month after proceedings were instituted against him Todor Zhivkov did not have a lawyer, the court pointed out that later on he was granted this right based on the amendment to the Penal and Procedure Code of April 17, 1990. If there were any breaches of the law during the preliminary investigation, they can be eliminated during the trial.

Concerning the objections raised by Milko Balev's counsel for the defense, who insisted that new evidence should be presented, the court considers that this evidence could be collected in the course of the trial after the defendants are examined. The request of the organizations of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms in Sofia and in the town of Aytos for their representative taking part in the trial as a public accuser was also rejected because Todor Zhivkov is not a member of these organizations. Today's proceedings continued with Prosecutor Krasimir Zhekov's reading the indictment.

Defense Lawyer Comments

*AU2602105491 Sofia BTA in English 1018 GMT
26 Feb 91*

[Text] Sofia, February 26 (BTA)—"If I were the prosecutor, I would have called many more people to the dock. And I think Todor Zhivkov would prove to have a sounder morality than most of them," Zhivkov's lawyer Ms. Reni Tsanova told the "TRUD" daily.

She elaborated on the defense case of insufficient and unsubstantiated evidence on all three charges brought against her client in the trial which started yesterday. She pointed out she would accept without reservation a trial against Todor Zhivkov on different charges and if all culprits are co-defendants.

According to his defense lawyer, Todor Zhivkov is intelligent and is capable of in-depth analysis, he is perspicacious and, at the same time, the system incarnate and the spitting image of his times. "I used to think that it was bad luck to have him for a head of state and that Bulgaria's lot might have been different with another person in his place. Now I know this is utopian. It was impossible. The big Soviet brother used to hold us too tight in his grip. Even the choice of a first secretary of a town committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party used to be cleared. A whole lot of Zhivkov's closest aides worked directly for the Soviet Union. Sometimes he would strike a deal with Japan, and in the morning he would be summoned by the Soviet ambassador," Ms. Tsanova says.

She advises her client to tell the people everything about himself and all other culprits because this is his only chance,

SDS Hopes Trial Will Unveil New Evidence

*AU2502173491 Sofia BTA in English 1619 GMT
25 Feb 91*

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—The most influential Bulgarian coalition, the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), believes that a more careful investigation into the activity of the former No.1 may lead to a more serious trial, to a real indictment of the past.

"Al Capone was imprisoned for tax evasion, but this case involves a head of state," Mr. Filip Dimitrov, the SDS leader, said at the SDS regular briefing today. He added that Zhivkov systematically worked against the interests of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people. Mr. Dimitrov said that since Todor Zhivkov allegedly controlled all connections of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the trial might throw light on actions and phenomena which do not figure in the indictment.

Mr. Dimitrov and other opposition leaders expressed satisfaction that at long last Todor Zhivkov is in the dock. They said they hoped that the proceedings would unveil new evidence which might lead to a more serious trial later on.

Kurdzhali Ethnic Tension Described

*AU2602104491 Sofia BTA in English 0915 GMT
26 Feb 91*

[Text] Sofia, February 26 (BTA)—"Are you a Bulgarian? Why don't you put on a pair of shalwar [wide trousers worn by Muslims]?" Vitriolic remarks like that can be heard in Kurdzhali's schools which have been picketed for two weeks now. The reason is the experimental introduction of optional Turkish language classes in state schools in compliance with the Bulgarian Constitution. The town of Kurdzhali and the region have a population of 330,000, some 220,000 of whom are ethnic Turks.

The situation in Kurdzhali is explosive, Mayor Milan Milanov of the Bulgarian Socialist Party says. The seventeen schools in town are picketed by Bulgarians who won't let Bulgarian children in. The Turkish population which is a majority in this region keeps aloof and does not interfere.

"None of the political forces would claim responsibility," said Mr. Atanas Uzunov, chairman of the ad hoc legislative committee on the situation in the region. Later on the Bulgarian National Radical Party took the responsibility, followed by the Fatherland Party of Labor and the Committee for the Defense of National Interests. They called on Bulgarian parents to keep their children away from school and demanded a moratorium on the experimental Turkish language teaching.

Rallies held by the Fatherland Party of Labor, the Committee for the Defense of National Interests and the Bulgarian National Radical Party focus on the ethnic conflict. They raise slogans such as "Speak Your Mother Tongue to Your Mothers at Home" and "Turks Go to

Turkey". But the rallies draw some 1,000 or 2,000 people, mostly on-lookers, while 50 to 100 attend them regularly. Many speakers are not from Kurdzhali. At the same time Bulgarians and Turks stroll around quietly, mix in the streets of Kurdzhali and drink at nearby tables in pubs. The general impression is that the ethnic problem is being deliberately fanned.

The police and the Prosecutor's Office are both trying to wash their hands of the matter. On Friday, the police staged a "demonstration drill", serving writs of warning on the parents picketing some of the schools in the presence of journalists expressly invited for the occasion. Yesterday the pickets of three schools were lifted.

The legislative political forces have withdrawn their representatives from the interim administrations, waiting for "the situation to return to normal". Only the mayor is still at his post but last week the police hardly rescued him from the mob.

For over five years following the Turks' forced assimilation campaign, the idea that Turkey poses a threat to Bulgaria and that Bulgaria may become a second Cyprus has been hammered home to the people of Kurdzhali. Of all Bulgarian towns, Kurdzhali is the nearest to Turkey. Many of its inhabitants are descendants of refugees from Aegean Thrace driven away by the Turks at the turn of the century.

The people who want to tip the precarious intercommunal balance in the region capitalize on the scarce information on the ethnic Turks' rights and the fears stirred in Bulgarians. It is uncertain whether the instigators of the conflict are backed by political forces. Some of these people have a good reason to be afraid because they either took part in the assimilation campaign or profited from it. At that time Bulgarians could buy cars, houses and flats from people leaving for Turkey dirt cheap. Many Communist Party functionaries and police chiefs profited from the campaign, but there were also citizens who simply seized the opportunity.

These facts are coming to light now and the conflict is predominantly between Bulgarians, rather than between two ethnic communities. On the whole, it is difficult to define the conflict as ethnic, political or economic. The economy in the region is dilapidated just as elsewhere in this country. Some people are daunted by the economic reform, while others have started their private business and say, "business will be business, and I don't care who is my partner."

Christian Democratic Leader on Movement's Goals

AU2602095191 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 19 Feb 91 p 3

[Interview with Konstantin Adzharov, chairman of the Bulgarian Christian Republican Party and of the Consultative Council of Extra-Legislative Parties, by Valeri

Vasev; place and date not given—first paragraph is NARODNA ARMIYA introduction]

[Excerpts] Numerous parties and movements that base their programs on the principles of Christian democracy have recently appeared on our country's political scene. Despite the lack of Christian democratic traditions in our country, this movement is rapidly progressing both as an ideological superstructure and as a mass public phenomenon.

[Vasev] Mr. Adzharov, can you brief our readers, in general lines, about the joint alliance of parties that you are presiding over?

[Adzharov] The Consultative Council of Extra-Legislative Parties was established on 28 September 1990, its fundamental idea being to overcome the polarization of our society that, as you know, had reached its climax at that time. [passage omitted]

The council includes the Christian Republican Party, the National Patriotic Union, the Bulgarian Fatherland party, the Republican Party, the Liberal Party, and the Christian Women's Movement. [passage omitted]

[Vasev] Could you tell us something about your movement's tactical objectives in the political struggle?

[Adzharov] We are convinced that democracy cannot be achieved by undemocratic methods. In our opinion the opposition is a necessary partner of the government. When the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] was established on 7 December 1989, we published a declaration stating that we cannot become members of this union because in our view the SDS did not intend to pursue any serious political objectives, while we declared from the very beginning our willingness to share power and to actively implement our platform.

[Vasev] Lately, it seems to have become very fashionable to attach little adjectives, such as Christian Democratic, to the names of various parties. Could you explain this trend?

[Adzharov] There is no doubt that Christian democracy has a solid tradition in our country and that this trend will further develop. You know that as early as the epoch of the roundtable negotiations, SDS representatives raised objections against the existence and registration of parties with a Christian orientation, trying to accuse them of clericalism. Nevertheless, the fact that today the SDS is trying to establish a Christian Democratic center shows the great popularity of the idea.

This is the appropriate occasion to say a few words about the other parties with a Christian democratic orientation. I feel obliged to mention Father Georgi Golemanov who, prior to 10 November 1989 had also established a Christian democratic movement, and with whom we even signed a protocol of cooperation. Later on, however, Mr. Golemanov, in a typically Bulgarian fashion, declared the movement as a party. Basically, there is nothing wrong with such an action, but it marked the

beginning of the movement's disintegration. Initially it split into two parties, and then it was divided again, so that three different parties were finally registered in 1990, namely: [words indistinct] party, and the Christian Radical Party, while the new Christian Democratic Party was established in autumn 1990, which was followed by the formation of two more Christian parties united in a federation. This happened in December 1990. As you just pointed out, a great number of parties adopted the little adjective Christian Democratic. They are all striving for unification, considering that they share common ideas, but this is difficult, because a fierce competition for leadership is under way within the original formation founded by Father Golemanov.

Council Finalizes Bill on Foreign Investments

AU2502182491 Sofia BTA in English 1644 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today finalized a bill providing liberal terms for foreign investment in Bulgaria. The draft legislation will be submitted to parliament before the week's end.

The bill opens all spheres to foreign investment without restriction. The only exceptions are telecommunications, radio and television, the defense industry, banking, and the use of arable land and forests, for which a permission will be required. The same applies to the acquisition of ownership rights over real estate in Bulgaria, and the conduct of business in regions designated by the council of ministers.

The bill does not restrict the foreign investor's holdings in joint-stock companies in Bulgaria. Investors will be able to repatriate the profits derived from business in this country and they will have the right to convert these profits into hard currency at the national bank or the commercial banks.

Foreign investment in Bulgaria will be given preferential tax treatment.

The terms on which foreign investors employ Bulgarian staff will be set out in contracts of employment consistent with the key provisions of the domestic labor legislation.

Finance Minister Says Debt Postponement Sought

AU2502150491 Sofia BTA in English 1414 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—"Bulgaria is seeking to postpone the repayment of its 11-billion dollar foreign debt for two and a half years," Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov told the BTA, commenting on the draft agreement, presented by Prof. Todor Vulchev, president of the National Bank of Bulgaria, at the meeting of officials

of the 308 creditor banks in Frankfurt, the headquarters of Deutsche Bank, which acts as a mediator between Bulgaria and its creditors.

The document was discussed at the Friday meeting of the Council of Ministers. According to Mr. Kostov, the government has decided to consult "sympathetic international banking circles, including its 'lobby' in G-24".

Mr. Kostov stressed that the culprits for Bulgaria's huge debt should be taken to task. The matter is being considered by competent legislative and government committees.

The minister said that parts of Bulgaria's foreign debts were granted as credits to third parties which he declined to name, because the issue is still under investigation. Bulgaria has made substantial investments in real estate in third-world and East European countries. According to Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria owns landed property, worth hundreds of millions of dollars in Tokyo. But Bulgaria's property abroad is chaotically accounted for and nobody knows what exactly the country owns.

"So far we have been a country without a master," Mr. Kostov said in the end.

Soviet Work Deal Ends; Workers Occupy Embassy

AU2602084791 Sofia BTA in English 2124 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, February 25 (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian Embassy in Moscow was occupied by 70 Bulgarian workers defending the interests of some 5,000 Bulgarian builders. They used to work on sites in the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly under an intergovernmental agreement, and in return Bulgaria received oil, gas and iron concentrate.

The agreement was terminated and the workers must now return to Bulgaria immediately. However, they face a number of problems: they have not received their last wages, and what is most important, they cannot afford to pay the transport fare which have been increased manifold.

The builders set out their grievances in a declaration addressed to the Presidency and the prime minister. Today they presented them to the Bulgarian charge d'affaires as well. He persuaded them to lift the occupation of the Embassy but they warned they would go on hunger strike unless their problems were solved within two days.

Another 13,000 Bulgarian builders working in the USSR are in the same predicament. In addition, they have problems arising from customs restrictions, mixed marriages and their children's schooling.

Countrywide Market Situation Reported

AU2502222091 Sofia BTA in English 2056 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—The sprouting competition has forced some of the former monopolist companies in this country to reckon with the market, BTA correspondents report from across the country.

The government liberalized prices as of 1 February and the foodstuffs sold by state monopolies immediately hit the ceiling. A little later meat, milk and their derivatives appeared in the cooperative farm markets and in the newly-opened private shops at lower prices. Predictably, state companies had to follow suit when buyers rushed to their competitors. Now, twenty days later, private shopkeepers are still more flexible in price formation, the BTA correspondents report.

The drop in prices encouraged profiteering. Resourceful "dealers" buy cheap food in some parts of the country and resell it at a profit in other parts.

The first anti-monopoly protests have taken place. The tobacco-growers in one municipality in the Khaskovo region threaten to take strike action as of today. They denounce the monopoly of the Bulgartabak State Company which is the sole tobacco purchaser in this country. The tobacco-growers demand that a higher purchase price of tobacco, including the batches already bought from them. Some days ago small amounts of tobacco were burned in one of the villages as a sign of protest. People threaten they will destroy their produce rather than sell it at the current prices. After the liberalization of prices the Bulgartabak Company raised the prices of tobacco products though it still purchases tobacco at the old prices.

People are still queuing up before the savings banks either to pay off their loans before interest rates go up or to open one-month time deposits which bear a higher interest.

Lack of Radiation Protection System Alleged

AU2602103591 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 19 Feb 91 p 3

[Text] On 18 February at the Academy of Sciences Hall, a conference took place on the problems of national

security and protecting the population in cases of radiation and chemical and biological damage under conditions of war, major industrial accidents, and epidemics. The conference was attended by Academy of Sciences Chairman Blagovest Sendov and Major General Stoyan Andreev. Representatives of the various research units of the Military Medical Academy, the Medical Academy, the Agricultural Academy, and many other academies and higher educational establishments and departments took part in the conference.

The three basic national programs, related to protecting the population against radiation and biological and chemical damage were outlined. It became clear that the profound crisis has also affected those priority areas of the scientific units' work that influence our security. Professor Neychev from the Medical Academy said that the attitude toward those spheres is not serious, and that certain labor collectives that work on those spheres will be reduced.

Deputy Minister of Environmental Protection Docent Bosevski drew perhaps the gravest conclusion: "Almost five years after the Chernobyl accident Bulgaria still does not have a national system of radiation protection. This is a result of a unique departmental chauvinism." He stressed that because of this the "Radioshit" [Radiation Shield] program has deteriorated and pales in the face of the immediate threat.

Professor Dr. Atanas Kekhayov, Grand National Assembly member, in a statement that contained strong political overtones, said that the negation of war was the best prophylactic. He did not explain how such a position would help in the case of, God forbid, a major accident in the Kozloduy nuclear plant, or a major industrial plant, or in the case of an epidemic or a nuclear clash in the Persian Gulf.

The conference's goal was to construct a uniform and modern concept of national security that should not be mixed up with the country's defense, which is only a component of this system.

Many proposals were discussed. Finally, Professor Belokonski proposed creating an independent supra-departmental working group that will assess the lessons of the past, as well as the means and the state of the scientific collectives, and then give a green light to national security research. He pointed out that our national security is neither blue, red, nor pink.

Dlouhy on 'Undesirable Delay' in CEMA Meeting*LD2502210291 Prague CTK in English 1908 GMT
25 Feb 91*

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia considers the Soviet-proposed meeting of CEMA ministers in Moscow on March 13 and 14 an undesirable delay, Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy told a news conference here today.

"This is why it invited all parties involved to talks in Prague to be held this Friday and Saturday. We believe that if there are still problems to be discussed they should be dealt with speedily", he said.

He further said that the CEMA session at the level of prime ministers due to be held in Budapest on February 27 and 28 was postponed and that at the same time the Moscow meeting was proposed. The Budapest session was to decide the termination of the activity of CEMA and the establishment of a new organization. He stated that the Czechoslovak Government accepts the cancellation of the Budapest meeting with regret.

He referred to his recent talks with Polish and Hungarian representatives and said they all agreed to hold the Budapest meeting at the level of prime ministers and that opened problems must be discussed.

According to Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Rudlovcek, the postponed price rise on fuel and energy gets Czechoslovakia into a difficult situation as regards the International Monetary Fund as delays in cutting subsidies are not in harmony with an agreement on Czechoslovakia's budget policy.

Press on Balance of Power, Soviet Mideast Policy*LD2502095791 Prague CTK in English 0836 GMT
25 Feb 91*

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—The Czech daily MLADA FRONTA DNES writes today that the Gulf war "is disrupting the balance of power" in the world and may "bring a tough clash between the two superpowers".

The author, Petr Pravda, says that "the first round of the tacit war of the superpowers was won by America" and "it is now the Soviet Union's turn" in their game.

With the almost successful peace talks between the Soviet Union and Iraq the Soviets played a masterful political game, showing that "they are far from being out of the game as was earlier assumed". The paper says that what Moscow seeks is not so much peace but the preservation of its collapsing sphere of influence.

The Soviet peace plan caused considerable problems to the United States which does not aim only at the liberation of Kuwait. "The target is not just to destroy the dangerous military potential of Iraq but also oil—i.e. control of a strategic area by installing 'more democratic'

or rather pro-American regimes and a new security arrangement in the Middle East", MLADA FRONTA DNES stresses.

In another article the paper writes that Moscow failed to take into account the broader political context in its peace moves and regrets that Eduard Shevardnadze is no longer foreign minister. "Peace with Saddam Husayn would be neither pure nor long-lasting... Only his defeat can ensure that he will no longer buy arms in the world, and international control that he will not manufacture chemical or even nuclear weapons. Hopefully it will also prevent his becoming a martyr in the Arab world..."

LIDOVE NOVINY writes that the decision to fight till the end "does not guarantee that a postwar settlement in the Middle East will be easy, that the Iraqi leader will disappear from the scene or that the Soviet Union will not push through its influence. It only gives it a better chance".

If President Bush accepted a solution agreed on Moscow's initiative he "would have perhaps saved not only the lives of the soldiers but apparently also the position of Saddam Husayn. A balance of forces in the Middle East would be hard to achieve after a war ended in this way".

The Iraqi leader would even gain in popularity and "the Soviet Union, which suddenly approached from a distance, would restore its lost positions in the Middle East", LIDOVE NOVINY writes.

Arms Shipment to Jordan Stopped in FRG*LD2502223591 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
2200 GMT 25 Feb 91*

[Text] The customs office in Bremen today prevented the export of Czechoslovak weapons to Jordan. A representative of the Customs Office has reported that rifles and ammunition from Czechoslovakia arrived this afternoon in the port in this German [word indistinct] city. The freight was to be loaded on a Jordanian ship which was to leave tomorrow for the port of al-Aqabah.

The Customs Office representative explained the halting of the export by saying that Jordan is, de facto, siding with Iraq in the war in the Persian Gulf. Agencies have not given further details about the origin of the shipment.

SFRY To Expel Citizens for Arms Smuggling*LD2202211191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1900 GMT 22 Feb 91*

[Text] Several Czechoslovak citizens have been sentenced by Yugoslav courts to suspended sentences and deportation for arms smuggling. In Subotica the police detained two citizens from East Slovakia who were selling pistol cartridges. Another group of our citizens in

cooperation with one Yugoslav man smuggled to Yugoslavia about 7,000 cartridges for pistols of various calibers and a Walther pistol as well. According to well-informed Yugoslav sources, some of the weapons and ammunition confiscated in Kosovo is made in the Soviet Union and is allegedly smuggled to Yugoslavia from Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Nuclear Reactor Shut Down for 'Planned Overhaul'

LD2502153291 Prague CTK in English 1410 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Jaslovské Bohunice, West Slovakia, Feb 25 (CTK)—One of the two reactors at the V-1 nuclear power plant at Jaslovské Bohunice, West Slovakia was shut down for planned overhaul on February 23, assistant manager of the works Robert Gunis told CTK today.

The V-1 plant has two 440 mw reactors of the oldest Soviet type still in operation and Austria has demanded their complete shutdown. Czechoslovakia maintains that with proper precautions they can continue to operate. The plant is some 60 km from the Austrian border.

The planned shutdown will last 46 days and will be used, as every year, also to exchange the fuel.

Technical adjustments and improvements will be made to increase safety, in accord with recommendations made by foreign commissions which studied the operation of the plant in the second half of last year, Gunis said.

Anti-Semitic Incident in Assembly Reported

AU2502130691 Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY
in Czech 22 Feb 91 p 2

[Stanislav Cech commentary: "Jewish Community on the Carpet!"]

[Text] Everything is interconnected—this became apparent, in a somewhat grotesque light—during the debate on the government-sponsored bill on extrajudicial rehabilitation at the Wednesday [20 February] joint meeting of both Federal Assembly chambers. Reacting to one modifying proposal, Rostislav Senjuk (Civic Forum), who acted as joint rapporteur [for the Chamber of Nations committees], uttered a sentence that not only provoked deputies' indignation but is likely to have an international dimension as well: "...I, as rapporteur for the Chamber of Nations, do not recommend the inclusion of churches and religious communities [among those eligible for restitution under the bill on extrajudicial rehabilitation] because, in this case, the bill would extend also to the Jewish community, with respect to which there are well-founded prerequisites [as published] for cultural treasures of a movable nature being taken out of the CSFR...." Ivan Rynda, deputy to the

People's Chamber for the Civic Forum, described this statement as an unprecedented discriminatory act directed not only against the Jewish community, but against any church.

Klara Samkova, deputy to the Chamber of Nations for the Civic Forum—Romany Civic Initiative, added insult to injury when she said: "This really is a topical problem, which, nonetheless, does not belong in this bill. We have discussed this issue with Deputy Prime Minister Miklosko and arrived at the opinion that the danger exists of the Jewish Museum and the Jewish community concluding an agreement with the Israeli embassy to this effect...." The uproar in the hall and the pounding of fists on benches made it clear that this act of extemporization would not remain without an echo.

Commenting on the above statement, Karol Stome, deputy to the Chamber of Nations for the Civic Forum, said: "As for the international aspect of that statement, I believe that it was extremely unfortunate and that it could be associated with some tendencies that we have rejected long ago. I personally see that statement as negative."

Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa added: "I cannot comprehend what Deputy Samkova's motives were. She stressed something about some evidence of which she has availed herself, etc. She acted as a rapporteur for the bill under discussion, and she exceeded her powers in this respect...."

History teaches us that, when the holders of power were at their wits' end, they assimilated an anti-Semitic platform. Could it be that history is repeating itself even in present-day Czechoslovakia? The question is: Who are today's power holders....?

Interior Ministry Accused of Misusing Information

AU2602111991

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 20 February on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "Illicit Vetting," publishes a 1,300-word article by Evzen Stanek and Hana Labudova in which the authors accuse the Federal Ministry of the Interior of using screenings to eliminate political adversaries. The authors refer to three recent cases (Bartoncik, Moldan, and an unnamed trade union official) in which compromising data appeared at the most inconvenient moment, "when these people began to cause trouble." Regarding the last case, "it is interesting that, according to V. Petrus, chairman of the Czech and Moravian (trade unionist) chamber, the trade union did not request the official's screening, and the information about his record in the State Security register was disseminated at the January Civic Forum assembly by someone very close to the federal government."

J. Ruml, chairman of the legislative commission investigating events of 17 November, "admitted that the

commission members receive varied information from unknown sources. The possibility cannot be excluded that much of this information leaks from civic screening commissions, which in the spring vetted Interior Ministry staff. In addition, many of the former State Security members undoubtedly maintain contacts with agents that they used to supervise. "At one time, commission spokesman Petr Toman observed that the State Security agents during the last years of the service's existence were in the habit of taking many secret files home."

Cooperation by some people who had access to the State Security secret files is yet another way of learning the files' contents. The article gives an example of Karel Hvizdala, a MLADA FRONTA DNES reporter, who apparently managed to read some of the State Security secret files. "The head of the office of the director of the Federal Information Service [FIS] admitted that they know about the information leak."

The authors ask a rhetorical question about the possibility of defending oneself against the accusation of cooperation with the State Security, which in itself means the end to any political ambitions. The answer is that there is none, particularly since, as confirmed by FIS, some of the files disappeared and some were misplaced.

In the conclusion of the article, Stanek and Labudova refer to the Charter of Basic Rights and Freedoms, according to which "everybody has the right to protection against the unauthorized collection, publication, or other manipulation of data about himself." According to the article, no existing law sanctions this, and "whoever does it violates the law. And that is a criminal offense.

"The main culprit, the Federal Ministry of the Interior, is apparently quite at ease about violating the law and its own decree."

The problem is, according to the authors, that "the illicitly obtained information is apparently misused in the political struggle. Therefore, since the federal government does not seem to be willing to get involved, the legislature definitely should step in."

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 22 February on page 4, under the headline "Vetting Addenda," publishes a "ben"-signed 100-word report that adds that in the legislature session on 21 February, Deputy M. Maly (OF) read a letter submitted to the Federal Assembly chairman. "He proposes in it that the legislature in its next session (in March) adopt a law on the loss of mandate for every deputy whose collaboration with the State Security is proven. He added that should the collaborators not leave voluntarily, he will propose an amendment to the procedural orders invalidating their votes."

Trade Minister on Foreign Investment in Country

AU2202161591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 20 Feb 91 p 2

["ru"-signed report: "Foreign Capital for Czechoslovak Enterprises"]

[Text] Addressing a news conference yesterday, Jan Vrba, minister of industry of the Czech Republic, denied that foreign investors' interest [in investing in Czechoslovakia] was declining.

According to his experience, interest in this has even grown stronger in the last couple of months, most probably as a result of the uncertain situation in the Soviet Union, where many of the companies that are now conducting negotiations in the CSFR originally wanted to invest.

Three major joint venture agreements have been signed within the department of the Czech Republic Ministry of Industry thus far: Skoda [Mlada Boleslav]-Volkswagen, Sklounion [Teplice]-Glaverbel [of Belgium, involving production of industrial glass], and Technoplyn-Linde [of West Germany, involving the gas industry]. Preparations are under way for foreign partners' entry into the Bechyně Ceramics Works, the Sokolov Chemical Works, Skoda Plzen, the First Brno Engineering Works, and other enterprises. The cement industry as a whole is considering establishing links with foreign capital. All Czechoslovak truck manufacturers—Tatra, Liaz, and Avia—have jointly entered negotiations to find a partner. Engineer V. Vasica, the deputy minister, added that virtually all 170 denationalized enterprises within the ministerial department are planning to establish links with a foreign partner. According to his estimate, Czech industrial enterprises need an annual foreign capital injection of at least \$1.5 billion.

On 1 January the Czech Republic Ministry of Industry started to operate in its "merged" form. In addition to enterprises for consumer goods, chemical, and wood-processing industries, it now also covers electrical, general, and investment engineering, the building industry, the pharmaceutical industry, and the metallurgical industry. Following this structural change, which essentially means the merger of three ministries [the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Construction, and the Ministry of Engineering], plus the delimitation [delimitace] of some industrial branches, the Czech Republic Ministry of Industry has a staff of 720, compared with the former three ministries' combined staff of 1,550. Following the aforementioned changes, the Czech Ministry of Industry now has about 1,500 enterprises under its jurisdiction.

New State Bank To Ease Companies' Debt Burden

AU2202121491 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
20 Feb 91 p 2

[Excerpt] The Federal Ministry of Finance is setting up a new state financial institution under the name Consolidation Bank [Konsolidacna banka]. The Consolidation Bank will extend to companies credits with a more advantageous period of repayment and a lower rate of interest [than commercial banks]. The transfer of companies' current liabilities from commercial banks to the Consolidation Bank will take place in the first round of this operation, on 25 February 1991, on the basis of the organization's request. [passage omitted]

State Bank Chairman Comments on Monetary Policy

AU2402200491

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 21 February on page 2 carries a 150-word CTK report on a news conference with Josef Tosovsky, chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, held in Prague on 20 February. The same news conference is also the subject of a 250-word "kst, lg"-signed report in Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 21 February on page 4. The news conference dealt with the Czechoslovak State Bank's monetary policy.

According to the NARODNA OBRODA report, Tosovsky said that "monetary policy is devised in such a way that it should not cause an economic decline of more than 10 percent" and that "the rate of unemployment should reach a maximum of 6 percent." This is also why the state bank is considering a slight easing of its restrictive policy: "The volume of credits will be 20 percent higher than last year, which represents a volume of about 136 billion korunas." Tosovsky said that, despite the 25 percent increase in prices between December 1990 and January 1991, the state bank continues to pursue the objective of limiting the 1991 rate of inflation to 30 percent.

According to the SVOBODNE SLOVO report, "the priorities of the Czechoslovak State Bank's monetary policy are to slow down inflationary trends and renew monetary balance." Referring to the planned easing of credit policy, the SVOBODNE SLOVO report notes that "as a novelty," all legal persons entered in the company register will be able to find credit with foreign banks, 30 of which are currently represented in Czechoslovakia. Speaking about the inflow of foreign capital, the SVOBODNE SLOVO report mentions that the state bank estimates its volume at \$400 million this year, "which is very little."

Federal Official on Television, Radio Disputes

AU2502102291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 21 Feb 91 p 8

[Written responses by federal government press spokesperson Nada Petrova to questions submitted by Bohumil Olach: "Epilogue"; first two paragraphs are NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] Finally, on 24 January, the federal government (in the presence of J. Carnogursky, first deputy prime minister of the Slovak Republic) dealt with the so-called small power-sharing bill. According to federal government press spokesperson Nada Petrova, after a long discussion, the government endorsed the bill, on which even Jan Carnogursky commented that it could be acceptable to the Slovak Government. The final word, however, belongs to the Federal Assembly deputies.

Nada Petrova sent us answers to some problem questions:

[Olach] What is the key issue in the conflict between the Slovak National Council and the federal government?

[Petrova] Their ideas differ even in the definition of television and radio. The Slovak side considers them to be cultural institutions. Therefore, they belong to the jurisdiction of the republics. According to this interpretation, the federal bodies should not even have the right to their own media. On the other hand, the federal government believes that television and radio are technical means of communication and that any limitation of the right to information (all the more so as it concerns the supreme bodies of a federal state) is unacceptable, anticonstitutional, and does not conform to the Charter of Basic Rights and Freedoms, which the Federal Assembly endorsed. It understands culture as a common property and only the execution of the state administration as belonging to the jurisdiction of republics in this sphere.

Another jurisdiction dispute concerns licensing. At this time, the federal government has more than 130 license applications for nonstate radio and television broadcasting—the situation is almost explosive. According to J. Carnogursky, no licenses will be issued in Slovakia in the next few years. One of the reasons is to prevent competition with the state-owned media. Therefore, the Slovak side does not even agree to the possibility of the federation's issuing licenses for the entire territory of the CSFR. The federal government is of the opinion that the free flow of information should not be hindered or banned in this manner and promotes competition and liberalism.

[Olach] How are these arguments dealt with in the small power-sharing bill that is to be adopted by the Federal Assembly?

[Petrova] Only partially. The licenses will be issued by the government, but only after consultation with the

republics. Not without their consensus. Thus, this argument remains unsettled. The law, however, will support the preparation of legal conditions for independent forms of Czech and Slovak radio broadcasting. It also deals with the method of dividing the property. Another law on television and radio broadcasting will deal with the style and content of the broadcast.

[Olach] Why is the federal government insisting on the need for its own radio and television, even though it could use national media and society would save in the process?

[Petrova] First of all, I do not see any reasonable excuse for the republics, or, for that matter, any right that they would have, to forbid the federation to use this vehicle. It is enterprising like in any other area. Much more reasonable than prohibiting the activity would be the creation of competition by a greater number of broadcasting forms. Viewers and listeners will not be interested in whether they receive "federal" or "national" information but rather what the quality of reception will be like and the content of the broadcast. The problem lies more in securing good mutual reception between Bohemia and Slovakia. Another reason for the existence of federal television and radio are the current international obligations they guarantee, and no other form of broadcast can assume these obligations.

Havel Spokesman on Civic Forum Congress

LD2502215591 Prague CTK in English 1458 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel considers the results of this weekend's Civic Forum (CF) [OF] congress as politically realistic, said presidential spokesperson Michael Zantovsky today at the weekly presidential press conference.

The congress arrived at a satisfactory solution to the crisis within CF, according to the president, by transforming it into a coalition of two groups—a political party led by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, and a liberal movement led by Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky.

Commenting on this weekend's congress of the Slovak Movement Public Against Violence (VPN), Zantovsky said "we appreciate" the responsibility for the political stability of the Czechoslovak federation shown by the Slovak parliament's strongest actor at a time of great debate in Bohemia and Moravia.

He also expressed the hope that the CF-VPN coalition, winner of last year's parliamentary elections, will remain untainted.

On March 17 and 18 the president will travel to Luxembourg for an official state visit, followed by a working visit to Belgium on March 19 and 20, where Havel will meet with the EC Commission in Brussels. The president will be received at NATO headquarters in the same city on the 21st and will then depart for the Netherlands for a three-day official state visit.

New Center-Left Group Established

LD2102235491 Prague CTK in English 2217 GMT
21 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—A new parliamentary group of the centre-left was formed today by 16 Civic Forum deputies who described themselves as social democrats, social liberals, social Christians or of socialist orientation.

According to its declaration the centre-left group intends to support the unity of Civic Forum deputies in the Czechoslovak parliament on all issues connected with the Civic Forum's electoral program.

"We will push not only for the speedy installation of a modern market economy according to the government's scenario, but also for greater emphasis on the protection of socially weaker members of society, children, youth, women, pensioners, handicapped and others", the declaration says.

Signatories of the declaration include Ladislav Lis, chairperson of the defence committee of the House of the People, Tomas Hradilek, former Czech Interior Minister, Petr Uhl, a leader of Left Alternative and director general of CTK, and Venek Silhan, the economist who served temporarily as 1st secretary of the Communist Party when Alexander Dubcek was abducted to the Soviet Union following the August 1968 invasion.

CTK Director Not To Lead OF Left Wing

AU2502164691 Prague CTK in English 0931 GMT
20 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—"My view is different from that of Vaclav Klaus as regards his undemocratic approaches which, however, need not be necessarily rightist," Deputy of the Czechoslovak Parliament and CTK General Director Petr Uhl, member of the Left Alternative, wrote in RUDE PRAVO's supplement CESKE NOVINY today.

He said that he does not regard Vaclav Klaus, Civic Forum [OF] chairman and Czechoslovak finance minister, as a right-oriented politician or economist though it was the right wing of the Civic Forum which chose him as its chairman.

Petr Uhl further wrote that he supports Vaclav Klaus as finance minister and protagonist of the economic reform.

In connection with the OF Liberal Club which came into existence as a result of opposition against Klaus's political steps Petr Uhl wrote that the club is heterogeneous and that the rest of the Civic Forum which does not support this club is even more heterogeneous. Uhl himself has been lately supporting the strengthening initiative aimed at preserving the Civic Forum as a movement.

Referring to the left wing in the Civic Forum Petr Uhl said that "Conditions have not yet been created for the left wing to work out an alternative to the OF program. As long as the federal government carries out the economic reform in tune with the election program and the

adopted blueprint and as long as there is no negative social impact and greater social shocks the left wing has no chances. Maybe only stressing social aspects in supporting the government policy."

In connection with the recent critical remarks that the Czechoslovak news agency does not cover events objectively Petr Uhl resolutely denied that right-oriented democratic forces have not sufficient space within the CTK news service or that CTK covers events organized by these forces badly, late, or not at all.

Petr Uhl characterizes the prepared cooperation between CTK and Radio France International as a promotion of French culture in Czechoslovakia.

Commentary on Possibility of Civic Forum 'Divorce'

AU2502133591 Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY
in Czech 23 Feb 91 p 2

[Petr Novacek commentary: "Divorce, Yes; Disintegration, No"]

[Text] Constant arguments and conflicts have made the marriage—no longer of feeling, but, at least, of convenience—so unbearable that divorce is the only solution. The marriage under discussion is the Civic Forum's, and today's first divorce hearing, or Civic Forum extraordinary assembly, in Prague's Lucerna will determine whether this process proceeds properly or ignominiously.

Let us recapitulate very briefly. Last summer, following its victory in the legislative elections when it became the pillar of the government coalition, it was already clear that the Civic Forum had to improve its organizational structure and discipline if the government's program—especially its economic reform—was not to come to fruition haphazardly. V. Klaus took this task upon himself when he was elected Civic Forum chairman in October. Klaus' plan, according to which the Forum was to transform itself blow by blow into a right-wing oriented political party with exclusively individual membership and strict discipline, was supported by the majority of participants at last December's Olomouc meeting, and this January—mainly thanks to pro-Klaus oriented Civic Forum district managers—it was approved by the pan-republican assembly.

However, January's assembly in Hostivar did not take place in an exactly tolerant atmosphere, and it is not just mere speculation that Klaus' right-wing—with assistance from behind the scenes maneuvering—"rolled over" Liberal Club supporters. In any case, subsequent devel-

opment has confirmed the liberals' greater foresight. First and foremost, even Klaus' legal experts came, in the end, to the conclusion—which Liberals Rychetsky and Jicinsky had supported from the beginning—that the sudden transformation of the movement into a party is, from the point of view of the valid law, impossible to carry out. It also became clear that for a large number of Civic Forum supporters, it is simply unacceptable that they should have to (again) join a party, a purely right-wing one into the bargain. Just 4,000 [figure as published] people—approximately—interested in membership preregistered themselves in Klaus' party. Following the assembly, the Civic Forum chairman was to shift its image from the right to the center which, by the way, branded the centrist liberals as left-wingers.

V. Klaus indirectly recognized the unrealistic nature of his plans for transforming the Civic Forum when, at a meeting with the president in Lany involving representatives from all Forum streams, he agreed with a solution proposed shortly beforehand by Federal Assembly Deputy D. Kroupa. It also suited the Liberal Club. An agreement was reached at Lany that the Civic Forum will continue to remain a common culturally enlightened organization under whose umbrella both Klaus' party and the Liberals will operate independently—and in a coordinated manner until the elections—and will preserve the form of a movement.

Of course, the marriage of convenience fell apart because a number of district Civic Forums loyal to Klaus rejected the Lany agreement and insisted upon the resolution reached at the January assembly. However, the Liberal Club insists upon the Lany agreement and, at its most recent meeting in Laterna Magika, 25 district Civic Forums expressed their support for the club. Nevertheless, personal antipathy among some protagonists from both streams is still coming to a head, and the policy aims of the right-wing and the liberals are becoming more and more distant from each other.

Therefore, separation seems to be the only solution to the crisis that has arisen. The only issue is that it should not become unnecessarily caustic with possible far-reaching consequences not only for the Forum. After returning from the United States and Canada, V. Klaus confirmed that he is still in favor of the solution reached at Lany. The Civic Democratic Party (Klaus' party) and the Civic Liberal Movement could continue to operate completely independently, while fulfilling the Civic Forum's election program could be coordinated until the next elections by some sort of coalition committee composed of four representatives from each stream. The Civic Forum's property—in no way negligible—could be divided in half in accordance with this idea. This is what V. Klaus is saying; of course, while he was abroad, his loyalists spoke far more stridently in the Civic Forum

Council. However, the question is whether pro-Klaus district managers will speak even more radically at the assembly (on their own initiative or inspired by someone) and reject the Lany agreement. It is known that there are many among them who say: Either we are one strong party or we would prefer to slam the door behind us....

Of course, in such a case there would be no Civic Forum divorce, but disintegration. This could cast serious doubts upon the legitimacy of its deputies' mandates and could shake the fragile government coalition. The subsequent destabilization would be grist to the mill for left- and right-wing extremism. First and foremost, delegates at today's Civic Forum extraordinary assembly should bear this in mind before they make any decisions.

RUDE PRAVO Barred From KSCM Meeting

AU2502122691 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
19 Feb 91 p 2

["bc, per"-signed report: "The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia Wants To Have Its Own Daily"]

[Text] Prague — "Every party needs its own newspaper to address daily its readers and inform them about its policies. RUDE PRAVO no longer meets our expectations in this respect," P. Vilhelm, spokesman for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), declared at a news conference on Monday [18 February]. He announced that the Saturday [16 February] meeting of the KSCM Central Committee therefore decided to establish a new party daily. Radim Valencik, head of a KSCM Central Committee department, has been charged with putting together the editorial team. It was not announced when the daily would first be published.

Journalists did not receive any specific reply to their question whether the new daily would be called NOVE [new] RUDE PRAVO, as the rumor has it. A decision on the name of the daily supposedly has not yet been made.

Saturday's meeting of the KSCM Central Committee was the first since the extraordinary party congress from which journalists, with the exception of party journalists, were excluded. RUDE PRAVO's correspondents were barred from attending the meeting.

According to KSCM Chairman J. Svoboda, the KSCM has 540,000 members at present. It does not contemplate changing its name and gives priority to the process of transformation from below. It will not derive its activity from ideology but will derive its ideology from reality.

Officials Attend Public Against Violence Congress

LD2302162591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1000 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] The [Slovak] republican-level congress of Public Against Violence [PAV] has begun today in Topolcany [West Slovakia]. Marian Ondas reports:

[Begin Ondas recording, in Slovak] The more than 300 delegates and guests, including Slovak mayors belonging to VPN, welcomed in their midst Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, and other officials. Although today does not mark any anniversary, as only 15 months have elapsed since the velvet revolution, it is already possible to analyze and assess the VPN movement's role. As has been noted at this republican-level congress that has just begun, the movement has managed to fulfill most of its resolutions, but some of them require a lot of further effort. Every new day gives rise to new tasks with which the movement will have to cope.

At today's VPN congress, the delegates will be focusing primarily on analyzing the current political situation and the movement's future direction. At the moment, the congress is in the process of approving procedural matters. [end recording]

Gal Interviewed on Session

LD2402222191 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1730 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Interview with Fedor Gal, chairman of the Public Against Violence movement, by Bohus Gecy in Topolcany on 24 February—recorded]

[Text] The two-day session of the all-Slovak assembly of Public Against Violence [VPN] in Topolcany has not yet ended and continues at this moment with the approval of the closing documents. On the agenda of the afternoon session is the evaluation of the changes and additions to the statutes and the approval of the assembly's resolutions. This should be followed by a briefing at which Dubcek, Miklosko, and others should appear.

How does the chairman of the Slovak Council of VPN, Fedor Gal, see the results? He gave an interview to editor Bohus Gecy:

[Gecy] Could we briefly tell the listeners what the assembly set for itself and what it has achieved?

[Gal] At this moment, I can give you some real conclusions of this assembly. First, we rejected the demands for screening down to the level of districts and towns. This would be absolute nonsense. The second result is that we rejected the direct election of the chairman of the movement, and thus, de facto, also the accumulation of posts by leading figures of executive and political power. I think that in a society such as ours that is only striving for democracy and does not have it yet, it is terribly important that we have some kind of mechanism for the control of power by society.

[Gecy] As far as the question of the election of the chairman of the Slovak Council of VPN is concerned, I know that it was once again discussed that he should be elected by the whole assembly.

[Gal] The assembly did not adopt this demand. It rejected it by a marked majority of votes.

The third conclusion I can tell you about is that we remain a movement, we remain a single movement and not two or three political groups. This seems to me to be extremely important in particular now when I see what is happening in the Civic Forum [OF]. It would be a tragedy if this also happened to us.

[Gecy] As far as state and political power is concerned, you said that the assembly did not agree with it being linked in one individual. Nevertheless, there was criticism voiced here toward the government, and there was also criticism voiced on the part of the government aimed at the movement. Does this mean that there is a certain information blockage when one does not always correctly understand the other?

[Gal] A situation where one does not always understand the other correctly is not just a situation within VPN, this is a situation in the everyday life of practically all of us here. I think the problem lies somewhere else. If I were to feel that I could not express a critical sentence to the prime minister or a member of the government, then I would be very depressed. For goodness sake, why did we have 17 November, and what was the past year for?

[Gecy] I think that what took place yesterday within Civic Forum, which ceased to exist as such, took place precisely on the basis of various conflicts, various views on future development of the political platforms that crystalized within Civic Forum I expect that this will have a certain effect on coalition affairs, in particular within the federation as far as VPN and OF is concerned. How do you see the developments that could take place?

[Gal] There is now a new situation that will demand new solutions and new approaches. This is normal, this is all right. I think that the most sensible way will be the creation of some kind of democratic union, to identify all those political parties and political movements that are interested in solving the problems of this society and to bind them with some agreement about consensus, about political cooperation, about priorities, and to start working. I do not see it in a tragic way. It will be more

complicated than now because we no longer have one partner but several. The fact that it will be more complicated does not mean that it is contradictory, insolvable, and hopeless. On the contrary.

Hungarian Initiative Joins Slovak Coalition

LD2202135791 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1200 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] The Hungarian Independent Initiative has joined as an independent partner the coalition between Public Against Violence [VPN], the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], and the Democratic Party [DS]. In the signed addendum to the agreement, it undertakes to carry out the tasks that ensue from the document. The signing was preceded by bilateral talks.

Minority Leader on Problems of Slovaks in Hungary

AU2202144491 Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY
in Czech 20 Feb 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Short of Priests"]

[Text] Prague— The number of Slovaks living in Hungary who acknowledge their Slovak nationality is 7 percent higher now than it was 10 years ago. At that time only one-tenth of the approximately 100,000 members of this minority declared that they were Slovaks. This information was provided by Maria Jakab, chairwoman of the Union of Slovaks in the Hungarian Republic and a deputy to the Hungarian parliament, at a panel discussion co-organized by the Hungarian Cultural Center and the House of Slovak Culture in Prague yesterday. On the other hand, it was said in the discussion that the number of people who identify Slovak as their mother tongue in statistical sheets, or who declare that they speak another language, besides Hungarian, is continuously declining among Slovaks in Hungary. Apart from teachers, our compatriots would require priests from Slovakia. The Catholics, in particular, are served predominantly by Hungarian priests, even those who have preserved their language.

SZDSZ Official Interviewed on Party Prospects

AU2502103091 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 21 Feb 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Peter Tolgyessy, parliamentary representative of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by Farkas; place and date not given: "The Alliance of Free Democrats Is Late in Showing the Difference—The Government Is Paralyzed by the Parliamentary Majority"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] should further develop its program in the coming three or six months and should prove with concrete facts that it is capable of governing—Peter Tolgyessy said while analyzing the current situation of the SZDSZ. According to Peter Tolgyessy, advanced elections would be reasonable if the population really thought that elections would truly solve the problems. In Peter Tolgyessy's view, it is the parliamentary majority emerging after the election, rather than a constructive distrust, that renders the government inactive.

[Farkas] What is your opinion about the current situation of the SZDSZ, especially in view of the proposals made by your party at its recent conference? In your view, when could the SZDSZ become a force capable of governing?

[Tolgyessy] Although the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] can provide very few, or no answers to the questions facing the majority of the voters and, regarding both its program and its people, the SZDSZ would be more suitable to govern, I think that we must clearly see that broad strata of the Hungarian public do not yet see a real difference between the various parties. Although a lot of people do see some difference between the opposition parties and the coalition parties, I have the feeling that quite a few people reject outright party policy in general. Starting from this premise, I am firmly convinced that the SZDSZ should prove its capacity to govern by a more active policy in objective debates and specific issues, like inflation, unemployment, privatization, and self-governing bodies. The SZDSZ should prove that both its program and its leaders are suitable for guiding not only the local self-governing bodies, but also the entire country. I think that we should further develop the SZDSZ program in a period of time ranging from three to six months, and we should increasingly focus on the figures who are really capable of presenting this program. [passage omitted]

[Farkas] You were the one who often said that advanced elections would not really solve the problems facing our society.

[Tolgyessy] I continue to think so. Advanced elections are useful only if the Hungarian population really thinks that these elections would truly bring some change. I do not think that this is the case now. Voters would feel the need for new elections if they really saw some alternative in the National Assembly.

[Farkas] In any case, you said that the speech made by the SZDSZ chairman at the recent party conference represented a radical change in the party's policy. Why?

[Tolgyessy] I think Janos Kiss' speech at long last includes an essential requirement of the SZDSZ—namely, that this party should conduct a more active policy. In my view, this does not mean that an immediate change in the government is possible here and now, but is proof of the fact that the SZDSZ is capable of governing. As for the timing of a government change, it is the public at large that must decide. [passage omitted]

Minister Interviewed on USSR Trade Problems

LD2502142191 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0545 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Report on interview with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] If the Soviet Union continues to show unwillingness to pay for Hungarian goods that have been ordered and manufactured, then the enterprises will be obliged to put a significant proportion of them into store. According to certain estimates, this could result in the closure of 30-40 big plants and 200,000 unemployed if the Soviet partner remains unable to pay and therefore does not open the so-called credits. The economic cabinet did discuss this at the end of last week, but it will return to this important topic this week because if the unwanted situation comes about, it could paralyze the economy. I asked International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar about the government's plans.

[Kadar] The Hungarian economy and industry are in a very difficult situation in relation to Hungarian-Soviet cooperation. It is common knowledge that in spite of the trade agreement signed in December 1990 that prescribed a Hungarian-Soviet list of imports worth \$2 billion and exports worth \$1.7 billion; in addition to this a wide range of enterprise relations....[changes thought] This created an appropriate intergovernmental precondition and framework for cooperation. After this, the Hungarian enterprises concluded their contracts rather swiftly. There are no concrete business deals, because these enterprise contracts presuppose the opening of credits on the part of the Soviet partner. I received favorable promises about the opening of credits from a high-level Soviet executive [doenteshozo]. In spite of this, credits have not been opened. From this point of view we may find it extremely worrisome that the implementation of the intergovernmental agreement and the inter-enterprise agreements is not advancing either.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, in this situation does the government intend to intervene? If I am right, this topic came up at the cabinet session last week—in other words, the future of Hungarian-Soviet economic relations and the question of what will happen to the 30-40 big Hungarian enterprises that might be forced to shut their gates. Might there be unemployment as a result,

and what will happen with those products that are now in warehouses? So my question is: Does the Hungarian Government wish to interfere, or will it leave the enterprises to cope on their own in this situation?

[Kadar] The government cannot entirely abandon the enterprises to their fate in this difficult situation that has developed as a result of a very wide-scale loss of market. At the same time, I must also remind you that the government and the ministry have been stressing for a long time that it is on their own responsibility and at their own risk that the enterprises trade with the Soviet economy, which is operating under more difficult conditions. The value of the goods produced for Soviet export and now in warehouses is probably approaching 10 billion forints. Evidently, in a difficult payment situation, the enterprises that can count on payment, on the opening of credits, are those which can supply products of vital importance for the Soviet partner. This, regrettably, is not the major portion. Now, even at this moment, we have reassuring promises from the Soviet side. We hope that after the formation of the Soviet Government, the new Soviet Government, the situation might settle. At the same time, however, while hoping for the best, we must also prepare for a worse alternative, which is the further weakening of the willingness to pay.

[Reporter] In this situation what can one expect? There are the warehouse stocks, there are the enterprises that have been or are going to be shut down. In other words, what plan does the government have to make a relatively rapid change in this situation?

[Kadar] We have to gauge those spheres of enterprise activity that can, in the future, count, with relatively less uncertainty, on a Soviet demand that is capable of payment. Of course this could also alter, in accordance with changes in the Soviet situation, either in a favorable or in an unfavorable sense. The other thing is that we have to assess the social costs that will arise from halting production at enterprises manufacturing goods that cannot presently be sold, enterprises that lose their markets, or from the liquidation of these enterprises. This is also an expenditure. The third element is to examine how the profile, the product sphere, of those enterprises, which, up until now have been exporting to the Soviet Union can be switched over to something that can be sold either in domestic markets or in other markets, perhaps in the developing countries. This could mean a qualitative change, and it could mean developments necessary for this. It could mean technical modernization, it could mean reorganization. This would require the appropriate programs to be worked out and financed from the resources of government and financial institutions.

[Reporter] Are there any concrete plans for this?

[Kadar] I have to emphasize that it is not possible to take sound decisions on this in a few hours. For this reason the economic cabinet will return to this issue this week, when it has more precise calculations and situation assessments available to it than hitherto.

Possible Involvement in Ruble 'Affair' Noted

AU2502142091 Budapest MTI in English 1252 GMT
22 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, 22 Feb (MTI)—According to the daily "NEPSZABADSAG", Roubles may have been arriving in Hungary in a deliberate plot for their transfer to the West. Various channels are thought to exist, one of which has been discovered by the Hungarian authorities.

According to the newspaper, police investigations revealed that three Soviet citizens intent on emigration had regularly exchanged large sums of roubles for forints at various Hungarian banks every time presenting an official currency exchange certificate. The overly cautious behaviour of the three men, however, raised the suspicion that they were more afraid of the police than of robbers. The forints were immediately exchanged for German marks and dollars on the black market.

Information at the newspaper's disposal suggests that the transaction involved the exchange of tens of millions of roubles for forints. Given the official licence produced by the three men from one week to another, it seems unlikely that the deal was of a private nature. Some say there must have been some Soviet authority in the background, maybe the KGB, but this is only speculation, the newspaper adds.

In August, when the Hungarian police were to about to crack down on the men, the rouble-forint exchange stopped overnight, and the three men disappeared from Hungary.

The recent statement by Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov that the West was plotting a financial scheme against the Soviet Union with the aim of transporting roubles by the billion to Western countries, has given rise to widespread conjecture. Hungary was also cited by Pavlov as party to the affair.

Deputy Attorney General Sandor Nyiri has told "NEPSZABADSAG" that the Soviet authorities have asked for no kind of official information from Hungary, although they could have done so under the legal aid agreement.

Walesa Discusses Privatization With Ministers

LD2502225891 Warsaw PAP in English 1626 GMT
25 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 25—Both Lech Walesa and Privatisation Ministry's officials believe that the process of returning the seized property to their legitimate owners should be carried out efficiently and fast so as not to hamper structural transformations in the Polish economy.

President Lech Walesa met today with Privatisation Minister Janusz Lewandowski and Wojciech Goralczyk who is undersecretary of state in the ministry to discuss problems of reprivatization.

Lewandowski and Goralczyk presented the government stand on ways of boosting the economy through reprivatization.

The minister promised that the government will take a clear stand on privatization on March 5.

Sejm Holds 'Heated Debate,' Adopts Budget Law

LD2302224791 Warsaw PAP in English 1911 GMT
23 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 23—After a heated debate and a dramatic speech by Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz the Sejm adopted today the budget law for 1991 with 240 votes for, 40 against and 56 abstentions. During three days of debates some 100 speakers took the floor to express mostly critical opinions on the draft budget proposed by the government. Vice Prime Minister Balcerowicz who took the floor just before the voting to defend the bill told the chamber that Poland was at a turning point and could be pushed off the road of reforms due to political calculations and economic claims. "We are witnessing a dangerous propagand of defeat. Efforts to intensify it and easily made promises can make this defeat come true," he said. Balcerowicz also pointed out that all this was happening at a time when, after months of negotiations, Poland had a chance for the reduction of debts and successful continuation of reforms. Before taking the vote the Sejm also heard the opinions of the Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Adam Tanski, the Minister for Ownership Transformations Janusz Lewandowski and Deputy Finance Minister Wojciech Misiag. The Sejm also adopted a resolution on the assumptions of the socioeconomic policy in 1991 and the monetary policy, on the implementation of the budget and privatization of the Polish economy in 1991. The chamber rejected the government draft on terminating contracts with the nominated officers of the supreme offices and central organs of state administration as well as regional organs of government administration. The Sejm approved the Senate's amendments to the law on foundations and sent back for further discussion in the committees the deputies' draft law on agricultural chambers which had its first reading today.

Prime Minister on Need To Fight Inflation

LD2202085291 Warsaw PAP in English 2254 GMT
21 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 21: "We have to curb inflation. The excess wage tax as a strong anti-inflationary barrier has to exist. Otherwise, we will lose everything we have reached with such effort, and everything will collapse," Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki said in the "All Against One" TV programme tonight.

The prime minister also stated that it had been his conscious choice to include Leszek Balcerowicz in his cabinet because he stands for the programme of Polish reforms to other countries and is a good economist who persistently implements this programme.

Prime Minister Bielecki announced that conditions for the development of housing construction will be formed in short time and a flexible policy on agriculture pursued. He also promised faster privatization as the basic direction in the Polish reforms.

Geremek Speculates on Sejm Dissolution Date

LD2402122291 Warsaw PAP in English 1131 GMT
24 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 24—"It is possible that the Sejm (lower house) will decide about the electoral law and fix the date of its dissolution on March 7. The date of (parliamentary) elections on May 26 depends on the Sejm's decision," Bronislaw Geremek, leader of the Democratic Union (UD) parliamentary floor group told journalists on Saturday.

"If the Sejm decides on early elections, all the (electoral) procedures will have to be shortened," he added.

The draft electoral law prepared by the constitutional commission provides for one hundred days of electoral procedures. At the moment, there are two draft electoral laws. One proposed by the president and the other by the constitutional committee.

According to Geremek both drafts are highly convergent except for their character. The draft presented by the commission is of a proportional nature but aims, at the same time, at the greatest possible "personalization of elections." Under this draft there are 115 one-seat constituencies while the rest (355) is divided among regional party lists, with the electorate making a personal choice from those lists.

The presidential draft proposes 230 one-seat constituencies and a central distribution of the other half of parliamentary seats without a possibility of choosing a definite person.

Geremek blamed the presidential initiative as one slowing down the pace of work on the electoral law and said: "It is alarming that this thing, which is so important for the state and nation, is treated as an element of political gamble."

Solidarity Leader on Excessive Wage Tax Issue

LD2402095591 Warsaw PAP in English 0850 GMT
24 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 24—"I am not an advocate of discrediting anti-inflationary policies in the current situation," new Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski told journalists last night.

He added, however, that the controversial excessive wage tax must be replaced with a mechanism better accommodating living conditions in Poland and social powers.

Krzaklewski described himself as an advocate of Solidarity's tactical representation in the parliament, one that would be large enough to make the parliament pass a package of trade union laws.

The new Solidarity leader also said that his union's biggest mistake so far was that it had failed to force the Sejm (lower house) to pass such a package.

"I think that Solidarity is still the largest anti-communist force in Poland. It is also a major guarantor of reforms," Krzaklewski said.

He also warned that should Solidarity fail to stand in the elections it may turn out that post-communist forces could win a relative majority in the parliament.

OPZZ on Revision of Balcerowicz Economic Plan

LD2202235491 Warsaw PAP in English 2116 GMT
22 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—"The recent demonstrations of miners and the OPZZ (All-Poland Trade Union Alliance) are an expression of tremendous anxiety and it is very good that our trade unions organize such demonstrations," stated OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz at a press conference today referring to the recent upsurge of labour unrest in Poland.

"This was not a rally against the Belweder (presidential palace), government or Sejm (Lower House). This was drawing attention to the fact that this trade union, termed by some as sluggish, is capable of rallying a great number of people around itself," Miodowicz added.

Asked for the union's stance toward Finance Minister Balcerowicz's crash economic reform program, Miodowicz said: "Mr. Balcerowicz, like our entire nation, is led by the stick and carrot method not by President Lech Walesa, or the OPZZ or Solidarity but by the International Monetary Fund which dictated this program. Society demands its quick revision."

Miodowicz also revealed the OPZZ had not yet decided whether it would take part in the upcoming parliamentary elections or in what possible coalitions.

Liberal Congress Leaders Meet Journalists

LD2102234491 Warsaw PAP in English 2059 GMT
21 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 21—The vice chairmen of the Liberal-Democratic Congress, Andrzej Arendarski and Donat Tusk, met with journalists today to present the congress's stand on the situation in Poland and discuss its own structure. They stressed that the congress will keep supporting the work of the government aimed at the continuation of economic, social and political changes in Poland.

In connection with upcoming parliamentary election, the congress is going to hold a nation-wide conference of the party on April 13 and 14. The congress has 964 members in 23 chapters all over Poland, the largest of them in Gdansk, Warsaw and Elblag. Although the party is not interested in dramatically increasing the number of its members, it is expected that its number will go up to 2,500 by the time the parliamentary elections are held.

In its statement concerning the bill on joint-ventures to be passed soon, the congress spoke in favour of more liberal regulations concerning foreign partners and drastic reduction of the number of classified information available to the state leadership only.

Commission Launches Defense Reform Teams

LD2502224191 Warsaw TVP Television Network
in Polish 1500 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Members of the interministerial commission for the reform of the organization of national defense met today. Minister Krzysztof Zabinski, head of the commission, set up four teams—one for the transformation of the Defense Ministry into a civilian body of state administration, one for the restructuring of the armed forces, one for the defense industry, and one for parliamentary organizations. Within a period of three months, all legal rules concerning national defense will be modified.

Skubiszewski on Gorbachev Gulf Peace Plan

LD2202215891 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT
22 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—In connection with questions concerning Poland's reactions to Mikhail Gorbachev's peace proposals, Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski made the following statement:

"The Government of the Republic of Poland is fully aware of the dangers and perils stemming from the continuation of the armed conflict in the Gulf, including its tragic consequences for the civilians population. As a state observing the international law and demanding respect for this law by other states, Poland firmly comes out in favour of implementing all the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council on the Gulf conflict, which is connected with an unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

"It is necessary to restore and guarantee the independence of Kuwait and to eradicate the policy of aggression and annexation. This would give a beginning to the peace process. In this spirit we express hope that the initiative of President Mikhail Gorbachev will contribute to restoring the sovereignty of Kuwait and initiating the peace process in the region," the statement reads.

Request To Inspect Soviet Bases Unanswered

*LD2202224791 Warsaw PAP in English 1948 GMT
22 Feb 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—Until late afternoon today, there was no reaction on the part of the Soviet Foreign Ministry over Poland's protest in connection with the refusal by Viktor Dubynin, the commander of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army, to allow Polish experts inspect Soviet military bases for chemical weapons, spokesman for Poland's Foreign Ministry Wladyslaw Klaczynski said.

Earlier, the Soviet Foreign Ministry conveyed to Poland a consent to hold such inspection to confirm that no chemical weapons are stationed on the territory of Poland. The inspection was to test in practice the provisions of the Geneva Convention banning chemical weapons which has been adopted by the majority of countries.

Majority Approve of Nation's Foreign Policy

*LD2202224291 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT
22 Feb 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—Seventy-five per cent of those polled by the Public Opinion Polling Centre (CBOS) highly assess Poland's foreign policy and regard it as compatible with the interest of the country. More than 50 per cent of the respondents said they were convinced of the growth of Poland's prestige in the world.

More than 50 per cent declared their confidence in the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Krzysztof Skubiszewski. While assessing Poland's foreign policy last year, 41 per cent said it was rather a success while a similar number of the polled said there were as many good results as failures. 8 per cent said there were only negative effects.

The government's talks on the reduction of Poland's debt won the greatest approval (11 per cent) but the respondents were divided in their opinions on Poland's relations with the West, regarding relations with Germany as success but pointing to negative aspects of Poland's growing dependence on the West. Opinions on Poland's relations with former socialist countries also differed as some stressed that Poland gets too deeply involved in the internal affairs of the USSR while others pointed to the lack of unequivocal support for the Baltic republics.

SZTANDAR MLODYCH, Other Papers Sold

*AU2502122091 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 23-24 Feb 91 p 1*

[Luk'-signed report: "RAZEM Sold to KPN—GAZETA POZNANSKA to Fibak"]

[Text] SZTANDAR MLODYCH has gone to the Economic Education Foundation for 12 billion zlotys [Z]; Wojciech Fibak has become the owner of GAZETA POZNANSKA for Z3 billion; and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], has acquired the weekly RAZEM for Z400 million. These were the decisions made on Friday [22 February], by the Sale Commission.

GAZETA POZNANSKA (10 tenders received), was sold to W. Fibak. Fibak was supported by the Poznan City Council, the Sejm Culture Commission, the Social Democratic Party and the Cegielski Works "Solidarity" chapter.

The Economic Education Foundation, headed by Minister of Industry Andrzej Zawislak, acquired SZTANDAR MLODYCH. The foundation made the Z12 billion offer jointly with the Foundation of Polish Culture and Polish Recordings.

Tenders submitted by Stan Tyminski (Z12.001 billion), and the KPN (Z12.005 billion), were rejected by the commission.

However, the KPN did acquire the weekly RAZEM (the commission was divided on the issue; three votes were for, two against, and two abstained). The current work force of RAZEM were also against the KPN bid, but the tender submitted by the RAZEM Journalist Cooperative was 50 percent lower than the KPN offer.

PAP, Zarebski Discuss Press Agency's Future

*LD2302194191 Warsaw PAP in English 2339 GMT
22 Feb 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—Government spokesman Andrzej Zarebski visited the POLISH PRESS AGENCY today to discuss with PAP management and Solidarity the prospects of changing the status of PAP from a government agency and central office to a public institution under social supervision, and also its cooperation with the government press office. At the talks the spokesman stressed the government's concern to provide society with comprehensive information, especially on the ongoing transformations and economic processes in Poland. He also underscored the importance of journalistic professionalism and the need of the development of the agency as a modern structure independent from political factors.

'Observer' Television Program, Editor Reinstated

*LD2302092791 Warsaw PAP in English 2251 GMT
22 Feb 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—Polish radio and TV chairman Marian Terlecki decided to reinstate the "Obserwator" (Observer) TV news programme as of March 11 with its old editorial team and editor-in-chief.

His earlier decision on the liquidation of the privileged status enjoyed by "Obserwator," making it follow uni-

form organizational and financial principles binding in TV structure resulted in a strike staged by the programme's journalists. Next, its editor-in-chief was fired.

However, faced with a conflict that, instead of being solved within TV, became a political one owing to the participation of political parties and groupings in it, Terlecki decided not to prolong it and not to increase social losses as he termed it in a special statement issued today.

Civic Alliance Issues Appeal Against Violence*AU2202160191 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 19 Feb 91 p 7*

[Text] Noting with strong concern the proliferation of verbal, written, or physical violence in the street, the press, and places of detention and in the most varied situations, the Steering Council of the Civic Alliance of Romania wants very seriously to draw the attention of our country's citizens to the extreme situation we have reached. The fact that the serious problems we are facing breed revenge, retaliation, and aggression between individuals suits no one but those who know nothing about civilized conduct, democratic principles, and respect for human beings.

We firmly oppose all those who instigate violence and practice it, and we take the side of the victims, no matter whether they are the students of June 1990, the journalists of December 1990, or writers like Banu Radulescu and Petru Cretia.

The state of law is not just a calling card for Europe, but a fact that has to be supported through all our daily actions. The Civic Alliance asks the Ministry of Interior, the Prosecutor's Office, and justice bodies to take to court all those who are guilty of violence or instigation to violence against social categories or people whose only "fault" is their courage to have an opinion.

The Civic Alliance will always oppose attempts to shatter our hopes for democracy.

UDMR Condemned for Offering Aid to Strikers*AU2502141391 Bucharest LIBERTATEA
in Romanian 15-16 Feb 91 p 1, 2*

["Ulysse"-signed article: "Pay Without Work and Rights Without Duties?"]

[Text] We have learned from various sources that the action of collecting "aid" (money and food) for the Timisoara strikers continues.... On the face of this there is nothing to be said against it; a charitable soul cannot be stopped from offering his mite to whomever he chooses.

However, this whole action took a strange... ethnic turn: the soul of this action happens to be no more and no less than the nice Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]. Thus, upon orders (oral ones we believe) from this very nice union, various Hungarian language newspapers (published in Romania) carried "impressive" appeals calling insistently on the population of Hungarian nationality (in Romania) to offer material support to the "striker's actions" in Timisoara, the town situated on the banks of the Bega canal.

This action acquired pitiable proportions in the town of Gheorghieni where, on the initiative of the Roman Catholic clergy (of Hungarian origin), "collecting boxes" were placed in some shop windows for charitable people

to deposit their mite. The money was evidently meant for the Timisoara "strikers."

Romanian tourists who recently returned from Hungary told us that "interested circles" (to quote the defunct Ceausescu) in the neighboring and friendly country are also concerned with collecting "aid" (money, food, and clothes) for the same destination: the honorable "strikers" in Timisoara.... A first transport was carried out with the van of the Alba Iulia Roman-Catholic Bishopric (again them, poor them!). And the action continues!

We were asking ourselves the other day why exactly the UDMR? We dared answer this question: to gain "political capital".... Perhaps we are not exaggerating at all when we say that our friends in the UDMR are supporting the "strike" and the "strikers" on purpose; such tactics practiced by this democratic union—when everywhere individual actions received what they really deserved—to engage in actions that go beyond its statute and competence are easily recognizable.

We notice another aspect of this issue: the Romanian population in the Transylvanian counties—where most of the charity action of the UDMR is taking place—did not pay any attention at all to the insistent appeals mentioned above.... It seems that the Hungarian workers in Transylvania are not so enthusiastic and prompt either in responding to the "generous" initiative of those who represent them from an ethnic and political point of view: this fact is certainly symptomatic.

Because, no matter what he is, Romanian or Hungarian, the worker—that is, the person who has no income apart from the salary he receives for his work—knows, or is beginning to realize, that the Timisoara "strikers" staged the strike at their expense.

Pay without work and rights without duties—this being the essence of the "claims" of the obstinate "strikers"—cannot be demanded by anybody... even when they are supported by the generous alms of the UDMR.

'Repeated Attempts To Restrict Rights' Deplored*AU2602103391 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 20 Feb 91 p 1*

[Unattributed editorial: "A Report on Human Rights in Romania"]

[Text] In a report sent on 16 February to AFP, two organizations for the protection of human rights denounced the "grave errors and intolerable abuses" committed by the new Romanian Government in the 13 months of its existence and asked similar UN organizations to profess "increased vigilance." The League for the Defense of Human Rights of Romania with its headquarters in Paris and the Association for the Defense of Human Rights—Romanian Helsinki Committee with its headquarters in Bucharest reveal the "antidemocratic nature" of certain laws and several provisions of the draft Constitution.

Admitting "certain undeniable progress" in 1990, the report deplores the "repeated attempts to restrict rights and organize demonstrations," the "insidious measures to restrict freedom of speech," through cutting the quantity of paper allocated for the independent press, for instance, and the "violence used by the police against journalists"—namely, the 11 journalists who were brutalized during the demonstrations in Bucharest on 11, 12, and 13 January. The report also draws attention to "the abusive measures to expel from" or "refuse entry into the country," to the "abusive arrests of demonstrators," as well as to the "extreme and unjustified violence of the forces of order, the Army, and of the 10,000 miners who were called to help during the demonstrations in Bucharest on 13 and 15 June 1990, which claimed 60 victims, 542 injured registered by hospitals, and more than 1,000 arbitrary arrests."

The two associations denounce the "survival of former institutions" that "threaten or even jeopardize" the democratization process. They especially quote the "persistence—in a new form—of the Securitate and its practices," and "the preservation of the Prosecutor's Office," which also ensures persecutions, investigations, and preliminary hearings of so-called trials, including those of Military Tribunals."

Among the "new laws," the report terms as "particularly shocking" the one referring to Romanian citizenship that "may be withdrawn from any person who, while being abroad, commits extremely grave acts that harm the interests of the Romanian state or Romania's prestige." The report also cites the draft laws on the press and audio-visual media that "foresee the creation of control bodies appointed by the political leadership, thus preserving and even strengthening the state's control." The report terms the creation—as stipulated in the Draft Constitution—of a Higher Defense Council; "that is, a military government alongside the civilian one whose place it could take any time" as "extremely alarming."

The report criticizes the restrictions in the Constitution regarding basic freedoms for reasons of "harming state security," "violating the constitutional order," and "slandering the country and nation" or "instigating separatism along national, ethnic, and linguistic lines."

Center-Left Alliance 'Backs' Government

AU2502174791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1534 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/2/1991—In an open letter addressed to Romania's president, Parliament and Government, the Centre Left Alliance-Social Democrat, which is backed by the members of the parties included in it as well as by the great part of the Romanian citizens who no longer find their peace so necessary for work and a civilized living, in complete security solemnly states that it backs all the clear and efficient measures promoted by the presidential institution, by Parliament and the government to get the country out of the situation it is in after 14 months since the revolution.

The Centre Left Parties' Alliance-Social Democrat makes a firm appeal to the country's president, to Parliament and the government to prove exigency, to trust the people's force, to courageously take the people's destinies in their hands.

The appeal also demands that an end be put to defeatism and negativism in presenting the country's situation.

The Centre Left Alliance-Social Democrat is made up of the Cooperative Democratic Party, the Romanian Party for the New Society, the Socialist Party of Justice-Independent, the Technical Economic Worker Alliance-Labour. In the names of these political formations, the letter is signed by Messrs. Ion Simionescu, chairman of the Cooperative Democratic Party, Victor Voichita, secretary-coordinator of the Romanian Party for the New Society, Alexandru Dan Popescu, chairman of the Socialist Party of Justice-Independent, and Petre Ghinescu, chairman of the Technical Economic Worker Alliance-Labour.

Cornea Protests Persecution of Intellectuals

AU2502154591 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
20 Feb 91 p 3

["Protest" by Doina Cornea on behalf of Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Romania; place and date not given]

[Text] The professor, poet, critic, and publisher of Eminescu, Mr. Petru Cretia, has been beaten up. The series of such beatings began with Mr. Banu Radulescu, editor of MEMORIA review, and continued with the more than 20 journalists who were beaten up by shield bearers.

How do you dare touch the country's intelligentsia, Messrs. Iliescu, Magureanu, and others like you?

The intelligentsia is the supreme asset of a nation. You put these people's lives in jeopardy! Is it not enough that so many young intellectuals flee from your regime like from something evil?

Apart from this, each citizen has the right to life and his corporal integrity. It is a right stipulated by the Universal Charter of Human Rights. This right is based on the "social contract."

We are paying taxes to the state. You, Mr. Iliescu, use the money derived from our work to bring the miners and shield bearers... against us!

Do you perhaps view yourself as the owner of the budget so you may use it as you please?

You see, Mr. Iliescu, Magureanu, Barladeanu and so forth, it is not Mr. Petru Cretia who destabilizes the country, nor the journalists beaten up by shield bearers, nor the poets, nor our thinkers, but you yourself because of the errors and unlawful actions (the last ones being the illegal pressure put on the railroad strikers) that you take!

Given all this, I believe that you are no longer a guarantee for the Romanian people! Stop ruining the country and resign!

For the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Romania
Doina Cornea

Roman Accepts Minister Stoica's Resignation

*AU2402170791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1637 GMT 24 Feb 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/2/1991—Mr. Ioan Aurel Stoica, minister of state in charge of the quality of life and social security, had an interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman when he elaborated on the reasons of the resignation made public on 21 February. After consulting members of the executive bureau of the government, the Romanian prime minister accepted the resignation of the minister of state in charge of the quality of life and social security.

Mr. Ioan Aurel Stoica was proposed the office of adviser to the prime minister, which he accepted.

Iliescu, Roman Meet With Agriculture Experts

*AU2502182091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1710 GMT 25 Feb 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/2/1991—A meeting took place on Monday at government's headquarters, of President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman with prefects and executives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

During the early part of the meeting, Mr. Ioan Tipu, agriculture and food minister, made a brief report on the present state of agriculture. The report highlighted that, although Romanian agriculture was faced with a number of problems affecting its normal activity in various sectors, it still had a high potential which, if made proper use of, would fully meet the population's consumption needs, as well as provide raw materials required by the processing branches.

Prefects from several counties and a number of farming experts spoke at the meeting.

Talks also referred to the use being now made of the irrigation system. In that respect, Prime Minister Petre Roman underlined that last year's situation when power had been supplied to irrigation systems which were out of order must by no means repeat itself.

Taking the floor during the talks, President Ion Iliescu stressed the necessity to eliminate deficiencies present in the irrigation systems in 1990. Romania's president advised against destruction of such systems, asking, on the contrary, that steps be taken to improve their efficiency. Those aspects should be considered when provisions of the land law are applied and land distribution to the peasants is implemented, because the destruction of

the irrigation systems may cause inestimable damages with long term effects for the agriculture.

Iliescu Issues Statement

*AU2502204091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1830 GMT 25 Feb 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/2/1991—In a statement made for the press at the end of his meeting with prefects that took place today, February 25, at government's headquarters, Romania's President, Ion Iliescu, said that the recently enacted land law "has a historical significance, since it restores the right to own land and the dignity of the Romanian peasant and of the Romanian village." We consider, the president said, that agriculture is the branch of Romanian economy which can rapidly recover, but that will also depend on how the land law is implemented locally. In his opinion, the law will give today's Romanian farmer a new status; it will also ensure proper conditions for the use of modern technologies and the increase in the productive potential of Romanian agriculture. That will depend both on the structure of property and on the adequate use of the land belonging to big farming units, such as the present state farms, the farms which are now becoming commercial companies in the fields of viticulture, fruit growing, animal husbandry, etc., and the associations of private farmers.

Mentioning that farming in countries with great agricultural potential is based on a large property structure, President Iliescu said that in Romania "we have to revive the prestige of the idea of cooperation, as a form of association among farmers meant to enable them to work on large estates. We have 3 million hectares of irrigated land in Romania. It cannot be efficiently worked by fragmented plots. That would be going back to a situation of the past and, at the same time, destroying certain potential and fixed assets which are the result of great efforts. No doubt that, by turning the present cooperative farms into forms of natural association based on the common interest of the people, on their rights as owners of the land, by farming it together, by making use of the existing land melioration works Romanian agriculture will increase its production. Seen from this point of view, the implementation of the land law is a crucial moment for Romanian agriculture, President Iliescu appreciated.

*** Statement of Bucharest Front Convention**

91BA0267A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 29 Jan 91 p 1

[Declaration by the NSF [National Salvation Front] Bucharest Municipal Convention; place and date not given]

[Text] 1. Convened on 27 January 1991, the Bucharest Municipal Convention of the National Salvation Front [NSF] discussed the internal political situation in Romania, the stage of implementation of the transition

program proposed by the NSF in its Platform-Program, and the reorganization of the NSF.

2. The delegates at the convention reviewed the political changes that occurred in Romania in the wake of the December 1989 Revolution: the establishment of a multiparty democratic system, the separation of powers in the state, the organization of free elections. On that basis the basic institutions of Romania's new political life—the presidency, the Constitutional Assembly, the two-house Parliament, and the government installed by it—were established.

The convention expressed the view that the democratization of the Romanian political system is an irreversible process whose further unfolding continues to depend on the normal and unimpeded operation of the institutions established in the wake of the 20 May free elections. The hammering out of the Constitution Theses in the first six months after the elections marked a step toward establishing the basic legal framework of the new Romanian society.

The year 1991 is a decisive year for the continuation of this process; the text of the Constitution is scheduled to be drafted and adopted this year, local elections will be organized, and preparations will be made for the 1992 general election. The convention delegates were of the opinion that as the government party, the NSF must debate and decide its political calendar for this year at its National Convention, and must task the NSF parliamentary faction with this duty.

3. Sanctioning Romania's status as a modern democratic society under the fundamental act of the Constitution must proceed on the basis of firm political options exclusively based on fundamental national interests and on freely expressed popular wishes. The essential features of the future Romanian society, such as form of government, the duties of future state institutions, and so forth must take into account the country's major long-term interests, rather than furnish a pretext for promoting group or party interests.

The delegates to the NSF Bucharest Municipal Convention reasserted their preference for a republic in Romania; they believe that at its national convention the NSF should adopt a clear position on controversial points of the Constitution, including the form of government, and on the proposal of the parliamentary commission on organizing a national referendum on the subject.

4. It was noted that the establishment in Romania of a normal political life in conditions of political pluralism is a laborious process. Political differences or controversies continue to be accompanied by disorder, violent street actions, or attempts at forcibly imposing minority options or solutions. Intolerance, aggression, and disregard for the rules of politics continue to characterize certain parties or political groups regardless of the apolitical name or status they claim. Bucharest has a special place along this line, being the main scene of such manifestations.

The delegates to the NSF Bucharest Municipal Convention categorically spoke out against any attempts to return Romania's political life to improvisation, violence, anarchy, domination, or to imposing any political ideas or alternatives through force or pressure. The struggle for power among political groups must be waged only within the framework of legally established structures, and the only criterion for validating a given option or program is the free vote of the electorate. Ignoring or contesting the results of the 20 May free elections and attempts to cancel all the constructive efforts made after the December Revolution merely to satisfy the interests of small but aggressive political groups threaten the achievement of basic national interests. Thus, the process of democratization of Romanian society is threatened and Romania's chances to take its due place among the new European structures now being built are in jeopardy.

Coexistence among opposite political forces is possible only if democratic laws and institutions are respected. In this framework and on the basis of the balance of forces established after the 20 May free elections the NSF declares itself available not only for coexistence with the opposition, but also for devising forms of cooperation for fulfilling basic national interests and resolving all the difficult problems facing Romania at this period of transition.

At the same time the NSF is willing to respect any other option that is the outcome of free elections and thus of popular wishes.

5. The NSF Bucharest Municipal Convention discussed the stage of implementation of the economic reform. The economic reform must be sped up by the simultaneous implementation of measures of transition to a market economy in all the branches of the economy. The year 1991 is decisive for the economic reform, being the year in which peasants will once again become landowners on the basis of the new Land Bill, and the process of industrial restructuring will begin in parallel with the development of economic activities apt to bring profit and provide employment for the work force that has become available in industry.

In parallel with the economic reform an efficient program of social protection will be implemented in view of the negative socioeconomic phenomena that may be deepened by the economic restructuring, primarily unemployment and increased prices for basic consumer items.

The Bucharest Municipal Convention was of the opinion that it is indispensably necessary for the NSF National Convention to adopt a program concerning the reform and social protection. Such a program should specify and update the principles featured in the NSF Platform-Program; once the program is adopted it should become the basis for concerted actions by the government, the NSF parliamentary faction, and its regional organizations.

6. Proceeding from the manner in which local organizations of the Bucharest Municipality carried out their activities in 1990 and the causes responsible for the drop in NSF activities in Bucharest and its diminished influence on Bucharest politics, the delegates expressed the view that the NSF National Convention will have to discuss a reorganization of the NSF designed to turn it into an active political group worthy of the real support it enjoys among the voters.

The NSF must become a strong political group capable of supporting a government charged with negotiating a difficult period of transition, promoting an unambiguous political, economic, and social program capable of ensuring efficient communication with all categories of people and all the social forces interested in the democratic change of the country and in its socioeconomic modernization.

For that purpose it is necessary to clarify the NSF's major political options and its concept on the major issues of the transition and to precisely outline its political identity. The relations between NSF organizations and the central leadership, between Front bodies and organizations and its parliamentary group, and between the latter and the government must also be reorganized.

It is also necessary to clarify the relations between the NSF and the major social forces in the country, particularly the trade unions. As a political group aiming to change society with the active support of the majority of the people, primarily the wage earners, the NSF must identify means of cooperating with the trade unions and other professional organizations for the purpose of establishing the main stages of the transition and the reform, and especially for achieving them in practice.

The National Convention must adjust the NSF Statutes to Romania's political realities and its development since the first NSF National Convention and in keeping with further political democratization in Romania. Adjustments are also required in keeping with the NSF's current status as a party massively represented in Parliament and as a government party. The Bucharest Municipal Convention will submit specific proposals to the National Convention for amending the NSF Statutes, including proposals concerning the transformation of the Front into a political party.

7. The delegates to the NSF Bucharest Municipal Convention expressed the view that the coming period will be decisive for the future of modern Romania. The major options that will have to be adopted and implemented during that period will decide Romania's shape for a long time to come, as well as its place among the international community. As a government party the NSF and its supporters will in that period assume the difficult responsibility of hammering out and implementing the structures and features of modern Romania.

The NSF Bucharest Municipal Convention appeals to all NSF members and supporters in Bucharest to actively

participate in preparing the NSF National Convention and thus to the process of forging and implementing the NSF Program.

It also appeals to all social and political forces to cooperate even beyond possible differences of opinion in order to achieve Romanian's major national interests.

* Ratiu Letter to Prosecutor on June Events

91BA0260A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
29 Jan 91 p 3

["Mr. Ratiu Addresses the Prosecutor General"]

[Text] On 14 June 1990 my apartment was "visited," or more exactly, ransacked, by three groups of miners and civilians; I myself was present only at the third incident, when a larger group with two big trucks claimed they wanted to "take me to Tirgu Jiu to stand trial for all the crimes I committed." At the intervention of some civilians, including Mr. Dan Iosif, I was taken to the government palace in a passenger car, arms pinned down.

I was told that the damage and thefts took place before noon. Toward the end of summer, through one of my aides I was remitted the amount of \$20,000 that had been found on a miner. I was indirectly told that a policeman was found who had participated in the theft.

In November 1990 I was summoned to the Regional Military Court, file No. 237/1990. First I asked for a postponement because on the date in question I had to be abroad. I hired a lawyer, a member of our party, and I found out that the three accused were:

—Lieutenant Colonel Nicolae Ioan, retired to the reserves on 8 August, who had ordered the other two defendants both at my apartment and at the Interior Ministry "protocol" room, where the things taken from my residence by the three defendants had been deposited in a cardboard box; the three had then gone to the restaurant Miorita where they drank a bottle of whiskey also stolen from my house and brought there by the second defendant, who was the driver;

—Sergeant Cornel Dumitrescu from the same unit 0215 who had filled out without any details the log note for the vehicle he drove that day accompanied, like every day, by the first defendant; in point of fact, after he was retired to the reserves, two identity cards were found on him: one as a lieutenant colonel of the Interior Ministry Central, Directorate for Intelligence (I hadn't been told that it existed) and one as a policeman. The Dacia passenger car bore the licence plate 1-B-1534; the log note was filed under page 112. On the way, the "policeman," who was not driving, asked Danciu, the miner seated in the back, to check what they had put in the box, to open a sealed envelope in which there was \$100,000 and had recently been brought in, and to keep for himself one packet, i.e., \$20,000;

—Miner Petre Danciu from Petrosani, on whom the \$20,000 was found at military unit 01210 on 18 June. At the questioning he frankly admitted what he did and identified the two "policemen."

At the 17 December 1990 session, after I was registered as the plaintiff, the Regional Military Court inspected the log note of the vehicle belonging to the Interior Ministry and driven by one of its noncommissioned officers and probably the rest of the evidence, from which I cited only a few aspects above. The court accepted my suit and cited the ministry as the responsible civil party in accordance with article 16 of the Penal Code.

However, on 22 January 1991, when Colonel Coinea came to represent the Interior Ministry Legal Department, his former colleagues, the military judges, acted as if they were charmed by his conclusions, the purpose of which were to preempt even a reading of the indictment sheet and the beginning of the court questioning. The Interior Ministry's clear responsibility for not overseeing (at best!) its officer and noncommissioned officer was denied on the basis of mere statements out of two notes by the Legal Department and the car pool, which claimed that the two officers had committed the deed "during their free time" and that they used the car from the Porumbescu garage "because of a shortage of parking space."

All three defense lawyers and my lawyer agreed with the opinion implicitly expressed by the panel of judges at the previous instance; the Regional Military Court was well advised according to the provisions of article 28, paragraph 1, of the Penal Code.

This time, however, the Regional Military Court declared that it did not have authority in this case and deferred the trial jurisdiction to the Court of Bucharest District 1. In so doing it implicitly stated that, in accordance with article 40 of the Penal Code, the "deed was not related to the authors' service duties!"

I hereby request Prosecutor General Popa to answer:

—Who evaluated the evidence correctly, he and Major Ilie when they drew up the papers (Mr. Prosecutor General did it personally at the time) for penal trial and issued the charges, or Major Smaranda, the session prosecutor, who, in view of his conclusions, seems not to have thought highly of his erstwhile and present superior?

I hereby request the minister of justice to answer:

—Is it legal and natural that a trial case should issue such evaluation concerning the relevance or irrelevance of the charges to the defendants' service duties when clear evidence and documents are at hand concerning such service duties and how they were discharged by the first two defendants on the basis of the still unverified statements of one party, even if the party in question is the respectable Interior Ministry itself,

which the Parliament majority decided was not at all involved in the events of 13-15 June?

I want to take this opportunity to express thanks to whatever institution it was, perhaps the same ministry or some civil service, for its continued attention demonstrated by the fact that on 22 January 1991 at 1141 when I left the Military Court in Plevney Ave. and got into the car with my lawyer and three colleagues we were photographed by a woman out of a Dacia 1310 car, licence plate 1-B-2488. No doubt for the purpose of ensuring greater security...

Yours,
Ion Ratiu

January Economic Growth Lower Than in 1990

AU2302144991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1002 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/2/1991—According to data supplied by the National Statistics Board the major economic indicators in January 1991 were below those of the same month of 1990. So, for instance, the marketable production was worth 151 billion lei, that is only 73.2 percent of January 1990, labour productivity dropped by almost a quarter, to account for 76.5 percent, as compared to the same month in 1990. Commodity sales (90.9 percent) are also below January 1990. In industry as a whole a slight rise was registered since the December 1989 revolution—in January and February 1990 production grew, but it accounted for only 90 percent of the monthly average of 1989 and then it continued to decrease to less than 60 percent as compared to the same monthly average of 1989 at present.

Soviet Trade Official on Gas Delivery

AU2202193691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1654 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/2/1991—The document signed by Romania and the Soviet Union on the delivery this year of 3 billion cubic meters of Soviet gas to Romania has not come into force because no credit lines were opened. However, starting January 1 Soviet gas has been delivered, stated Viktor Boyko, trade representative of the Soviet Union, in an interview with ADEVARUL newspaper. He also mentioned that in 1990 Soviet gas deliveries reached 8 billion cubic meters, the highest ever in the history of the two countries' relations. Showing what the reasons for the reduction of gas delivered to Romania are, Mr. Boyko said: "Starting this year, payments between our two countries are going to be made in hard currency at the current world prices and on international terms. Lists of goods supplied by the two countries are no longer compulsory. The governments do not decide what to import or export. The only decision-makers are economic agents."

Speaking about the possibilities to increase gas imports from the Soviet Union, Viktor Boyko said: "Our country

will further increase goods deliveries and of natural gas to Romania. A Romanian delegation paid a visit to Tyumen, the region from which Soviet gas comes. A Soviet delegation from that region is now in Bucharest. The Soviet delegation's proposals to increase gas deliveries to Romania as well as the Romanian party's proposals for gas extraction and transport equipment and for consumer goods supplies are examined."

Moldovans Protest Recruiting in Soviet Army

AU2202222491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2005 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Chisinau, (ROMPRES), 22/02/1991—We are of the opinion that Kremlin's decision to send more troops to Moldova for the forced recruiting of young men in the occupation Army represents a flagrant violation of the declaration of sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova, of the right of our people to self-determination and the violation of international law, reads a declaration of the Executive Committee of Moldova's Organization of Democratic Youth, quoted by Moldova-Press Agency. The act specifies that, because of the cruel treatment inflicted upon recruits in the Soviet Army, ten Moldovan young men lost their lives since 1 January 1991. Under

the circumstances, Moldova's Organization of Democratic Youth asks the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova to pass a law forbidding the forced drafting of Moldovans. We ask all organizations, political parties and unions of the mother country—Romania—to join the legitimate protest of the Bessarabians who can look nowhere as for brotherly help but to their brothers across the Prut, mentions the declaration.

Transylvania Protests Hungarian Program Cuts

LD2502102691 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0800 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Starting from today, every Monday at 1600 the bells will toll in Transylvania in protest against the fact that the broadcasting time of Bucharest Radio's Hungarian language programs is being cut by half. This was announced by the Tirgu Mures organization of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, which is expecting all of Romania's Christian churches to join its appeal. The communique stresses that Romania's Hungarians understand the country's difficult economic situation, but what they cannot accept is that the government is increasing the isolation of the 2.5 million Hungarian minority.

Jovic Reviews Sarajevo Presidency Results

LD2502214691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Report on interview with SFRY President President Borisav Jovic following comments on the proceedings and outcome of the last SFRY presidency session in Sarajevo; place and date not given]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—At the Sarajevo session there was no significant reconciliation between the stands on any of the contested issues. Everyone remained, in fact, resolutely entrenched in their own positions, which have been known for a while.

Responding to the question—whether any advance was achieved in the resolving of the Yugoslav political crisis in Sarajevo—Jovic says that, unfortunately, Slovenia and Croatia had further escalated their separation from Yugoslavia by the time of the Sarajevo session, which undoubtedly made reconciling the opposing stances even harder. In the meantime, the already difficult long-standing economic and social situation had deteriorated even further.

What hopes can be held out at the SFRY presidency's next session?

At the next session in Belgrade, Jovic stresses, we will embark on a new attempt to reconcile the stands on the basis of a detailed draft proposal for the future common state's functions, which will be completed by then. It is good that consent has been reached that we should have another attempt at reconciling the stands in this way. Equally, a draft plan for the constitutional and legal procedure of seceding from Yugoslavia will be prepared for the next session.

What is the most disputed issue regarding the exercising of common functions in Yugoslavia's future state set-up?

Realistically speaking, Jovic points out, there have been no true talks on this issue yet. We are still tackling the question—whether or not we will live together in a single state. Not everyone has answered this question yet. On the one hand, there are Serbia and Montenegro with their positive answer, and on the other hand there are Slovenia and Croatia, which want to have their own separate, independent and sovereign states.

In line with their clear stances, these republics have presented clear proposals that are mutually exclusive. Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have presented their stands on the possible functions of a common state, which, in my view do not differ much from the proposal of Serbia and Montenegro, and which could be reconciled and harmonized if these stands—of Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina—were not conditioned by the assumption that this common state should include Slovenia and Croatia, which do not accept this.

The talks about specific issues in the content of the future common state, Jovic notes, will be possible only to

the extent that each republic assumes a clear stand on whether or not it wants to remain within the common state. I believe that this decision does not depend on any specific arrangements for this community's functions, quite the contrary, the commitment to these functions depends on the political stand whether to stay in the common state.

Unless Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina do not come up with clearer stands on this crucial question by the next session we will have to face the same difficulties again.

What is the significance of the agreement to prepare, for the next session of the SFRY presidency, a constitutional and legal procedure for separation from Yugoslavia?

Agreement has been achieved that this project be prepared, Jovic explains. Regarding its content, it is very probable that it will only be in the discussion on the project that it will be shown that big disagreements exist, that were also present in the debate.

On the one hand, there is the notion that the right to self-determination belongs to each Yugoslav nation and that only it can, in a referendum and by direct voting, adopt such a crucial decision on departure from Yugoslavia or on staying inside it. On the other hand, there is the notion that such a decision can be adopted by the elected services of republics, but even if they were to accept a referendum, they do not agree that each Yugoslav nation has to vote separately on it, because the present republican borders are considered by them to be state and definitive borders.

Jovic believes it is obvious that the right of each nation to self-determination and the question of borders will be a key right for the outcome of the Yugoslav political crisis, as long as the process of separation from Yugoslavia persists.

The situation in the country is deteriorating intensively, both in economic and in political terms. Is there a danger that the talks in the SFRY presidency are being made superfluous by the severity of the situation?

I have been warning of this, and I have warned about this several times, Jovic recalls, especially at the last sessions of the presidency. It seems to me that all those taking part in the talks are aware of this danger. The real situation requires that we work more rapidly and effectively. The only thing is, I am not sure whether this suits everyone. I have the impression that any, even a temporary, improvement in the situation in our society, in the economy, in the social sphere and such, might bother some people because the arguments on which they base their present political activity would disappear. After all, it is evident that some people do not believe in a solution by peaceful means. They believe more in success through a political fait accompli and by the systematic imposition of their own one-sided decisions on the whole Yugoslav community.

Continuation of this practice of the destruction of the country, and the failure to respect the interests and rights of others in the common state, could lead to complete chaos and civil war, and by virtue of this prevent a peaceful political solution to the crisis.

It is the responsibility of the SFRY presidency to ensure a peaceful and democratic outcome, to protect the equal rights of all nations and to ensure equality in the talks. This also implies energetic opposition—by taking measures available to it in accordance with the Constitution and the law—to those who wish to impose their own interests on others by a political fait accompli, and by other unacceptable unconstitutional methods, and achieve their own political ends through chaos and civil war or through external intervention. Jovic said at the end of his interview to TANJUG.

Joint Principles of Constitutional System

LD2302150491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—At the outset of discussion at today's session of the SFRY Presidency, which is still under way, Montenegro Presidency President Momir Bulatovic presented—in his own name and on behalf of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic—their joint principles of Yugoslavia's constitutional system. Following is the text of the joint principles sent to TANJUG by the SFRY Presidency Information Service:

Yugoslavia's Constitutional System

1. Principles

Yugoslavia's new constitutional setup should be a democratic federation in the mold of a federal state rather than a confederation in the form of an alliance of states. A confederation would amount to the abolishment of Yugoslavia as the Yugoslav peoples' shared state. The abolishment of Yugoslavia would jeopardize the vital interests of the nations living within it, particularly of those nations whose commitment to live together has been invigorated even under the difficult conditions of this crisis.

The commitment to a joint state of the Yugoslav peoples is based upon the indisputable fact that federation provides a higher degree of quality in the economic and political status of citizens and economic entities and makes movements of labor, citizens, and capital incomparably easier. There are no direct relations in a confederation, no guarantee and application of equality for all citizens and economic entities, because these principles are enforced only indirectly and always on the basis of consent (approval) by each member state; documents and decisions and the rights stemming from them are not in effect across the whole territory (there are no direct relations between federal services and citizens)—this reduces legal, economic, and political security and mobility.

Legal, economic, and political security and mobility are the preconditions for emerging from the crisis in which we find ourselves. This form of state organization should not be confused with the way of passing its constitutional document—its constitution, which may be, must be, and certainly is based upon the consent of all its participants—it should not be confused with the way of exercising (by consent) the federal state's competences endorsed in this way, which is democratic and effective. Such a federal state is made up of citizens and republics that are fully equal. Therefore, the state is founded on the sovereignty of the citizen (the element of cohesion) and the republics' association (the element of their specific features). This state is committed to a market economy that implies a single market, uniform economic legislation, the full freedom of movement of labor, goods, and capital and the fully equitable and free status of economic entities. Yugoslavia as a democratic federation implies that its services are formed and work democratically (they are elected in direct multi-party elections); efficiently (timely, competently and independently); in a modern way (they have only the competences pertaining to modern economic systems and to an appropriate extent); legally (exclusively within the constitutional and legal framework); and responsibly.

2. Organization

The organization of the government of the Yugoslav Federation should be based on a democratic division of power between the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities.

Legislative government in Yugoslavia should be executed by a bicameral assembly made up of a Chamber of Citizens (Federal Chamber) and Chamber of Republics (directly or indirectly elected in each republic in equal numbers), that would deliberate on all issues equally and in such a way that in the Chamber of Citizens decisions are made by a majority of deputies, and in some cases by a simple majority where certain qualifications apply. There should be provision for decisionmaking with the agreement of the representatives of all republics or by referendum in the republics on certain questions (constitutional changes, border changes, threats to national rights and freedoms).

Executive government should be carried out by a government elected democratically by and accountable to the assembly in a completely independent, responsible, and effective manner.

The head of state, as a collective service, should in principle serve a representative function, and only exceptionally and together with the government have powers in certain situations. The federal judicial services must be completely autonomous and independent in their work and should ensure the defense of the federal legal system on the whole territory of the country. The text of the joint principles of Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic on the constitutional system of Yugoslavia concludes that for the federation to be democratic, modern, law-governed and efficient, the federal services must be competent in the following

areas: the army, foreign affairs, market and business operations, monetary and financial functions, and civil rights and liberties.

Mesic Meets Tourism Officials; Views Secession

*LD2502223391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1518 GMT 25 Feb 91*

[Text] Makarska, Yugoslavia, February 25 (TANJUG)—Vice President of the Yugoslav Presidency Stipe Mesic said today that it is not possible to secede from Yugoslavia "by decree, as some people seem to think, after 70 years of life together."

"Anyway, where would we go, and why would we secede," asked Mesic in a talk with tourist officials employed in facilities on the Yugoslav Adriatic coastline. The talk was held in the central Adriatic city of Makarska.

Mesic represents Croatia in the eight-member Yugoslav Presidency. This republic last week adopted a decision to become independent.

Croatia, and Slovenia which adopted such a decision earlier, believe that the only way for the Yugoslav republics to live together in the future within a confederation of independent states is for them to become independent.

Some other republics refuse to transform Yugoslavia into a confederation and consider Croatia's and Slovenia's decision to become independent as secession.

Mesic today reiterated that the main reason for Croatia's refusal to go on living in the Yugoslav federation is an apprehension of the forming of strong centers of political power in the country and of the Croatian people becoming a subordinate nation.

Mesic believes that a solution to the political problems of the country, i.e. the soonest possible reaching of an agreement on its future system, is a precondition for the revival not only of tourism, but also of the Yugoslav economy in general.

We must adopt our own "little Helsinki" as soon as possible, because foreign businessmen will not work with high-risk countries, which unfortunately include Yugoslavia, Yugoslav State Presidency Vice President Mesic said.

Finance Secretary on Republics' Unsettled Debts

*AU2602093391 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 91 p 6*

[Lj. Cudomirovic: "The Conditions for Settling Debts Are Being Created"]

[Text] After several postponements, the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces yesterday finally

discussed, among other things, the violations of the country's unified monetary and foreign exchange system and financial discipline.

Federal Finance Secretary Branimir Zekan briefed the delegates in great detail about difficulties in collecting revenue for the federation both last and this year. According to him, the federal budget for the year ending 9 February 1990 amounted to 87.089 billion [dinars] instead of 97.542 billion [dinars]. This occurred because the republics and provinces used the revenue raised for the federal budget for their own needs. The problems with the retention of the federation's revenue continued this year. Out of the total of 33 billion [dinars] envisaged for the first quarter of this year, only 3.5 billion dinars or 10.6 percent were paid to the federal treasury by 12 February. Emphasizing that this situation is particularly affecting the financing of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA], Zekan said that the JNA was supposed to receive 17.7 billion dinars in the first quarter of this year, but received only 1.7 billion dinars, or 9.8 percent. According to the figures that, as Zekan said, were for the most part agreed on with the republics and provinces, the total amount of the money withheld by the republics and provinces from the federal budget last year was 12.5 billion dinars, of which 5.4 billion dinars were supposed to be for the JNA and the remaining 7.8 billion dinars for financing other federation projects.

Looking at the republics and provinces individually, the withheld revenue that did not arrive in the federal treasury looks like this: Bosnia-Herzegovina did not pay 605.5 million dinars (including 238.9 million dinars for the JNA), Montenegro 87 million dinars (37 million dinars for the JNA), Croatia 3.5 billion dinars (1.7 billion dinars for the JNA), Macedonia 388 million dinars (153 million dinars for the JNA), Slovenia 2.2 billion dinars (1.06 billion dinars for the JNA), Serbia without provinces 4.6 billion dinars (1.8 billion dinars for the JNA), Kosovo 91 million dinars (36 million dinars for the JNA), and Vojvodina 954 million (350 million dinars for the JNA).

Zekan said that all republics and provinces have shown a willingness to find solutions for regulating mutual debts and liabilities. Regarding liabilities as a whole, the federal budget owes 15 billion dinars to the republics and provinces. The republics and provinces posed a string of conditions that must be fulfilled before the settlement of mutual debts and liabilities can take place. Therefore, among other things, all republics demand that in settling accounts the total moneys withheld by the republics and provinces be set off against the total debt of the federation, disregarding the fact that a part of the withheld money represents income to finance the JNA.

Zekan particularly stressed that in addition to all the problems of not paying in money to the federal treasury, there was also a problem of fulfilling obligations to the Fund for Underdeveloped Republics and the Province of Kosovo. According to him, the Federal Executive Council advocates in principle the view that this law,

this obligation, must be fulfilled within the deadlines specified for settling mutual liabilities and the debts to the federal budget.

National Bank Governor Dusan Vlatkovic thought, among other things, that the fall in production, which was expected, although not to such an extent, was primarily the result of the insufficient consistency in implementing certain economic policies and the inefficiency in restructuring the economy and banks.

Federal Chamber Delegates on Armed Groups

*AU2402152491 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
21 Feb 91 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "War Slogans Should Be Replaced With Dialogue"]

[Excerpts] It was indeed very exciting and tense in the Federal Chamber yesterday. Squabbles and polemics among the delegates had already started during a discussion about the agenda, continued, and became fiercer, during the afternoon debate on the (failure) to implement the SFRY Presidency's order on disarmament and disbandment of illegal armed formations.

Regarding the agenda, at the beginning of the session Gojmir Komar (Slovenia) asked to speak and said that, in addition to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense [SSNO], the SFRY Presidency must also express its view on the two military laws, because they are important systemic laws. He demanded the that adoption of the laws be postponed. After that, Zoran Kijac (Bosnia- Hercegovina) presented reasons that led members of the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations to oppose the Law on Limiting Public Expenditure and the Law on Social Accounting Service.

Zdravko Zabukovec (Slovenia) described the entire packet of federal government's intervention laws as the "underhanded" alteration of the Constitution that introduces more administration, which in turn extends the sphere of criminal acts. Peter Hedzet, his colleague from Slovenia, agreed with him, while Vinko Jelen, also from Slovenia, protested against the "ignorant attitudes of the Federal Executive Council and the SSNO, because they did not think it was necessary to consider our proposals for amending the two military laws that we submitted nine months ago."

Vaso Djukanovic (Montenegro) demanded that Prime Minister Markovic inform the delegates about the paramilitary formations. Regarding this, Federal Chamber President Bogdana Glumac-Levakov informed the delegates that, in accordance with the conclusion of this house of 14 February that the SFRY Presidency or the president of the Federal Executive Council brief the legislative delegates on the situation in the country, she received a reply that the SFRY Presidency has asked the SSNO to prepare a report on the illegal creation of armed forces in the SFRY, and that Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense, will read a report

concerning this topic. She said that the session will also be attended by Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency.

Branko Skok (Croatia) expressed dissatisfaction because the SFRY Presidency (which issued the order on disarmament) did not inform the legislature about events in the country itself. "We appreciate generals, but it is the Presidency that should communicate with us." Skok's colleague Zlatko Grabar said that he cannot accept the fact that somebody from the SSNO speaks on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, and that if the "presidency did not have anything to say, than it should have said this openly, not play games with us." He repeated his demands presented at the last session of the Federal Chamber that other information on the number of regular policemen and the acquisition of arms in other republics also be submitted, and that it is explicitly stated who, when and how were arms demanded, who received them and who was given them."

Who Is Running Away From the Truth?

Viktorija Potocnik (Slovenia) also said that the state presidency and the government behaved in an ignorant way regarding this matter, because, as she said, the "presidency authorizes the SSNO to assess this problem on its behalf." Radivoje Seckic (Montenegro) demanded that the federal secretary for foreign affairs brief the legislature on the official assessments and views of European—particularly neighboring European—countries, the Vatican, and the United States on the integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia.

Without denying the need for the aforementioned services to comment on all this on some other occasion, Mijat Sukovic (Montenegro) stressed that there must be no obstacles to the Federal Chamber's discussion on the illegal formation of armed units in the country. [passage omitted]

Save Krstevski (Macedonia) said the problem of illegal arming and the forming of illegal military units as crucial for the future common life in Yugoslavia. He agreed that the illegal import of arms threatens the integrity and security of Yugoslavia and its citizens. Therefore, nobody has the right to deny the measures of the SFRY Presidency and the Yugoslav People's Army. [passage omitted]

A Kosovo delegate, Sefedin Ljusi, reproached the SSNO services for dealing with the illegal import of arms to Kosovo, without mentioning the fact that the state is arming Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo en masse. Ljusi even claimed that the Army took part in supplying people with arms. [passage omitted]

Tudjman: Border Problems Will Cause Frictions

AU2602111891 Vienna DER STANDARD
in German 26 Feb 91 p 4

[Samo Kobenter report on news conference by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb; date not given: "Open Border Question on the Balkans"]

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman left room for interpretation as far as the future state borders of the Balkans are concerned. Thus, it is not yet absolutely certain that Yugoslavia's internal borders will remain unchanged in the future. Although Croatia is in favor of maintaining all internal borders of Yugoslavia, in particular the border with neighboring Bosnia, Tudjman said that the people of this republic must be conceded the right to decide for themselves where they want to live.

Tudjman neither wanted to confirm nor rule out the plan to divide up Bosnia-Herzegovina between Croatia and the Serb-dominated block, a plan that has been discussed in political circles in Croatia. Tudjman argued that nobody must forget that some 800,000 Croats live in the north of the neighboring republic. He added that in a plebiscite the majority of Catholics and Muslims would vote to live in a country "to which they have always belonged."

Tudjman did not deny that this problem cannot be solved without causing any frictions. Should there be difficulties with holding such a plebiscite in Bosnia, Tudjman said he could well imagine this poll being carried out under international observance and in line with the standards of international law.

Tudjman stated that according to his information, the Serb minority in Bosnia would like to stage uprisings similar to those in the Croat city of Knin. The Croat democracy movement needs Europe's help more than ever before. Tudjman said that there are new attempts to "Bolzheviz" Yugoslavia.

As far as the position of the Yugoslav Army is concerned, Tudjman stated that although there are "coincidences" between Communist elements within the Army and Serb politicians, there is no absolute congruence. Therefore, the possibility of a military intervention is extremely small, Tudjman concluded.

Tudjman, Mesic Comment on Sarajevo Meeting

LD2302171991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2246 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Statement by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on Croatian Radio following his return from Presidency meeting in Sarajevo; date not given]

[Text] Zagreb, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—"During the meeting in Sarajevo, in essence, well-known viewpoints—on the one hand of Croatia and Slovenia and on the other hand of Serbia and Montenegro—were expressed. In this context the representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina and

Macedonia were in a position to cast the deciding votes. It turned out that at the end of the meeting the chairman had to declare that relations were two-two-two."

Replying to a question on the heralded exercises of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) on Saturday and Sunday in Croatia, Tudjman said that he spoke on this at today's meeting in Sarajevo and that he had informed the Presidency about the documents that the [Croatian] Assembly adopted yesterday, and in this context also "about the request to the Presidency that it halt the illegal actions of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the JNA." I informed the Presidency, Tudjman said, that we in Croatia are faced with constant movements of military units, with a demonstration of military forces, and that it is up to the SFRY Presidency to maintain the situation in its own hands and not allow any kind of excesses. Tudjman added that a discussion on this was not conducted in Sarajevo.

SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic said it was agreed that it is necessary to discover the minimum conditions for the functioning of the system. "In other words, while this negotiation process is taking place on the future system—whether according to us an alliance of states, or in accordance with those in favor of a federal solution to the organization of the state—a system must nevertheless function. This is why we accepted that consideration be given once again to the minimum of these conditions, between the Federal Executive Council and the governments of the republics, so a solution is found that the assemblies clearly accept. We believe that a way out will be found here, because if it is not, there will be chaos if the system does not function," Mesic said in a statement carried by Croatian Radio.

Spegelj, Others Accused of 'Armed Rebellion'

LD2602094691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0855 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Statement by Zagreb Military Prosecutor on 26 February; place not given]

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—"In the framework of the measures being taken in the Yugoslav People's Army to implement the order of the SFRY Presidency of 9 January 1991, an investigation has been carried out and completed in the Zagreb Military Court against several persons from the territory of the Republic of Croatia because of evidence showing that they committed the criminal act of armed rebellion as per Article 124 of the SFRY Criminal Law.

"In this connection charges were brought in the Zagreb Military Court against Martin Spegelj for the criminal act of armed rebellion as per Article 124, Paragraph 2, in connection with Article 138 of the SFRY Criminal Law. During the investigation it was confirmed that as a minister in the Croatian Government he organized and coordinated all activities in the perpetration of this criminal act.

"Also accused beside Martin Spegelj are Antum Habijanac, Djuro Decak, Franjo Kovac, Vlado Sabaric, Ivan Belani, Vinko Belobrk, and Josip Kovac for the criminal act of armed rebellion as per Article 124, paragraph 1, in connection with Article 138 of the SFRY Criminal Law. Charges were also brought against the second Josip Kovac for the criminal act of arbitrarily leaving and fleeing from the armed forces as per Article 217, paragraph 4 of the SFRY Criminal Law."

Izetbegovic's Presidency Statements 'Surprise'

AU2302200491 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Ljubomir Nikolic report on statements by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic following SFRY Presidency session; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [Nikolic] At yesterday's news conference held after the SFRY Presidency session, Alija Izetbegovic said that there is no unified solution for Yugoslavia and that the only thing left is a new community founded upon an asymmetric federation or a community in which links between the western republics, Slovenia and Croatia, would be looser and firmer between the other four republics. Izetbegovic did not leave room for any doubts about Bosnia-Herzegovina belonging to the four republics: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia.

Izetbegovic's appearance at the Yutel program shortly before midnight caused real surprise, even a shock. He claimed then that he had not been interpreted correctly, that Bosnia-Herzegovina has still not decided, and that it will do so when its peoples express their will.

His first statement was carried by Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE, Radio and Television, and the foreign press in an almost full version that was based on the authentic recording of his statement at the news conference. Izetbegovic's two different, and in fact contrary statements, caused a tempestuous reaction by the public. Serbian Democratic Party President Dr. Radovan Karadzic, visibly excited and surprised, told us that such a behavior on the part of Izetbegovic has caused revolt among the Serbian people, because somebody obviously wants to provoke them and make them come out in the street to demonstrate.

On the other hand, the head of the Muslim Bosniak Organization, Prof. Muhamed Filipovic, speaking at an extraordinary news conference today, sharply reproached Izetbegovic for, as he put it, betraying the Muslim and Croat peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina by pushing this republic toward Serbia. Filipovic demands [word indistinct] legislative debate and this republic's platform on the talks on the country's future (?to be revoked).

The party of Democratic Action also held an extraordinary news conference. Izetbegovic reiterated his claims presented in the Yutel program and pointed out that Bosnia-Herzegovina will remain at equal distances from Belgrade and Zagreb, that is, between the confederation advocated by Slovenia and Croatia and federation advocated by Serbia

and Montenegro. We must pay attention to the multinational character of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the links of Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina with their mother nations. Concerning the (?place) of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the future Yugoslavia, it will be decided by its peoples, Izetbegovic says. [passage omitted]

Bosnians Clarify Stand on Future of Federation

AU2602120191 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE
in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Neither Eastwardly Nor Westwardly"]

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina has neither aligned itself with the eastern nor with the western bloc. Because we are talking about one side firmly advocating the concept of a federation and the other of a confederation, Bosnia-Herzegovina advocates a solution that would reconcile these two concepts, that is, something else. Therefore, we are not talking about the creation of the 4:2 ratio, as was the impression created by Alija Izetbegovic's statement on Sarajevo Television, but about the 2:2:2 ratio. The erroneous conclusion about Bosnia-Herzegovina siding with one side, as stated at a news conference by the Party of Democratic Action yesterday, was probably the result of the fact that the television only reported Izetbegovic's statement, but not his conversation with journalists. Bosnia-Herzegovina strives for Croatia and Slovenia remaining in Yugoslavia, despite the fact that some individuals want to drive them out. In case Croatia leaves Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina will not remain in the four-member federation—this was stated yesterday at a special news conference organized by the Party of Democratic Action.

Gligorov Will Not Endorse Macedonian Candidates

LD2602101391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1958 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Skopje, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Macedonian Socialist Republic President Kiro Gligorov today informed the deputies of the Macedonian Assembly that he could not endorse any of the four candidates for the post of new prime minister presented by the VMRO, Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity, under an inter-party agreement. President Gligorov, explaining his decision, stressed that after talks with the four candidates and all the parties represented in Macedonian Assembly he had come to the conclusion that better candidates could still be found.

According to Gligorov, except the Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity, which said it would endorse which ever candidate the president selects, all the other

parties maintained that the proposed candidates were unacceptable. Gligorov noted that no single party had obtained the necessary majority at the elections in Macedonia to be able to form the new government on its own.

A number of deputies, the majority of them from the VMRO, took part in the discussion that followed Gligorov's explanation. The VMRO deputies criticized the president for, as they put it, failing to state clearly his criteria that candidates for the new Macedonian prime minister are expected to meet. Gligorov was also reproached for failing to announce the name of the candidates for the prime minister within seven days of his inauguration, as mandated by law.

Teachers' Strike in Kosovo, Metohija Ends

LD2502135791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1143 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Pristina, February 25 (TANJUG)—Schools with classes in Serbo-Croatian in the province of Kosovo and Metohija started working today following a month-long strike of some 4,500 teachers.

The decision to end the strike was made by the teachers' strike committee on Friday [22 February], after promises by the government of the Republic of Serbia that their demands would be met. Teachers' average salaries which now stand at some 200 U.S. dollars, will be increased to

400 U.S. dollars, and as of April they will equal the average teachers' salaries in the Republic of Serbia.

Government Prepares Accord To End 'Media War'

LD2502143691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1220 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav federal government has prepared a draft agreement which is to ensure an unimpeded flow of information on all of Yugoslav territory and thus end the media war of the Yugoslav republics.

The press, radio and television should keep the public in Yugoslavia fully and objectively informed about the work of the most important state bodies of the federation, the republics and provinces.

The Yugoslav federal government feels that the unimpeded flow of information is one of the basic conditions for the functioning of the Yugoslav Federation until a definitive accord on Yugoslavia's new order is reached.

The draft agreement on an unimpeded flow of information will be discussed by the federal, republican and provincial bodies in charge of information, which are to be the signatories of the agreement.